

## The Carter presidency

It goes without saying that Jimmy Carter's presidential victory is one of the most remarkable political achievements of the century. Since that victory was not at all certain after his faltering campaign, it suggests that Americans, for all their qualms about this unknown newcomer from Plains, Georgia, are ready for a change and fresh start.

Clearly Mr. Carter has not been handed a mandate for extremism. The closeness of the vote indicates that the American electorate as a whole remains in the moderate middle of the road (where the President-Elect in fact places himself). Moreover, the Democratic victory represents more a return to traditional voting instincts in the South and the industrial North than an overwhelming enthusiasm for Mr. Carter. The latter the new President-Elect will have to earn.

The big question ahead is how the former Georgian Governor will translate his brilliant campaign organizational ability into the use of political power in the White House. His responsibility is all the greater because he has promised to restore trust in government. Not just trust in the personal integrity of the president and those around him — Gerald Ford has certainly done that. But in the capacity of government to respond effectively, efficiently, and morally to national and world problems. Public confidence in America's institutions has sadly declined in recent years. If Mr. Carter fails to strive credibly to fulfill his own vision for the nation he will only fuel public skepticism.

While the challenge is awesome, the opportunities are great. For the first time in 12 years there will be a unified government in Washington, with a Democratic President, a Democratic Congress, and new leadership in both houses of Congress. Here is a chance to build a constructive partnership between the executive and legislative branches of government. This will not be automatic, as John Kennedy learned. Mr. Carter is inexperienced in the ways of Washington and will undoubtedly encounter tough resistance from many quarters, including the federal bureaucracy. It will be a measure of his ability to lead — and to compromise — if he can develop a relationship which, while healthily competitive, is not confrontational to the point of stalemate.

Mr. Carter will also have the opportunity to

move across party lines and restore that old Vandenberg spirit of bipartisanship in foreign policy. This has long been absent all too long. It is right that there be a national consensus on America's policies abroad and Mr. Carter can begin early to build such a consensus by seeking the advice and support not only of the Democratic "outs" but of Republican insiders who have exerted so much influence on diplomacy these past eight years.

Now that Americans have conclusively put the debacle of Watergate behind them and asked for change, what kind of change will it be? Naturally it will be some time before the new President can spell out his intentions and programs but the broad thrust of his ideas is compelling. There is no quarrel that the government bureaucracy needs reorganization, that a fresh approach to budgeting is worth trying, that reforms are needed in the bloated welfare system and in the complicated, often inequitable tax system.

Among the new President's highest priorities will of course be the economy and here we trust that Mr. Carter's profession of fiscal conservatism proves a reliable one. Americans are visibly concerned about putting the jobless back to work — the labor vote obviously helped put Mr. Carter over the top — and about meeting certain social needs. But they are also acutely conscious of the dangers of inflation and of the imperative that government operate within its means.

No one foresees an easy road ahead, nor expects easy solutions. Mr. Carter will enter office with a baggage of promises that will be hard to keep. But he brings with him, too, a keen intelligence, a probing mind, tenacity, determination, a capacity for growth, and a strong religious faith.

Above all, as he sets out to unify the country and give it new purpose and direction, he has the goodwill of the American people. There is no doubt they are deeply grateful to President Ford for lifting the country out of the disgrace of Watergate and leading it during a difficult time of economic stagnation. But they now are willing to risk a change in the hopes of giving the nation vigorous leadership.

It is our fervent hope and prayer the man from the South will not let them down.

## New broom



The Christian Science Monitor

## Britain's economic dilemma

As Britons and their Western well-wishers contemplate the chilling downward spiral of the pound sterling, punctuated by occasional moments of recovery, the basic question is what can be done to stem a financial crisis grown so acute that it threatens to become a major political crisis as well.

One of the measures that many believe will be necessary to rally the pound is a reduction in Britain's social welfare system, on grounds that the island kingdom already is spending more than it can afford for such services. This, along with continued controls on the growth of the money supply, including pay increases for workers, are two major items likely to be considered by International Monetary Fund officials during their current investigations into Britain's request for a \$3.9 billion loan to bolster its economy and revive the sinking pound.

There is a strong case to be made that the Labour Party, the party's powerful left wing, including the trade unions, is bitterly opposed to further cuts in social services. It has been tentative also at curbing pay on wage boosts. So far, Mr. Callaghan has not been successful in his emotional appeal to the British workingman's sense of patriotism at the time of national crisis. The party's National Executive Committee has rejected the prime minister's plea to improve the pound's status.

As recently as last July the Labour government agreed, despite strong left-wing opposition, to cut back its welfare program by \$1.5 billion. But now both the government and its critics may well face the need for additional cuts. It is to qualify for the imperative party membership vote before serious enough to threaten the survival of Mr. Callaghan him-

self. No one envies the Prime Minister's predicament, caught as he is between his own wing's rigid stance and his country's worsening economic plight. He will need to draw upon all his powers of persuasion with workers, businessmen, and lenders.

Repercussions may be felt abroad too. Mr. Callaghan already has indicated one step forward upon him might be to reduce the costly British contribution to NATO defense on the European mainland, a move Britain's allies will not welcome. At home, the temptation to rely too soon or too much on North Sea oil and gas deposits to turn the economy around is great, but this alone will not meet today's crisis.

It can be argued that a portion of the dilemma is of Britain's own making, and that only the British people can solve it. On the one hand, and not surprisingly, the British have not been able to rectify the problems. What is needed is for Britain's workingmen, managers, and politicians alike to face up to the urgent need of making concessions on their own cherished objectives out of consideration for the nation's overall best interests. That may be easier said than done, but it gets at the root of the matter.

Clearly Britons once more will have to draw upon their vaunted inner resources — resources which admittedly have been strongly tried in recent times. But as a man from Surrey, England, put it in a letter to the New York Times: "Britain was the only nation to fight from start to finish in two world wars. This has left a difficult situation. But we shall recover."

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## Anti-apartheid

## Wild charges spoil UN vote

By David Anable  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor  
United Nations, New York

In a mammoth display of their General Assembly majority, the Africans and their "third world" allies have launched yet another assault on what they see as the last and toughest bastion of white minority rule, South Africa itself.

A series of 10 resolutions aimed at South Africa was passed through the Assembly by huge majorities Nov. 9.

But by giving in to the temptation to use every debating weapon at their disposal against the despised home of apartheid (the policy of separate development of the races), the Africans lost the opportunity to line up the rest of the world, including the West, behind their attack. Instead, many Western nations and up to a score of other countries either abstained or voted against the more controversial resolutions, partially undermining the moral and practical effects of the whole exercise.

The harsher than usual tone of some of the resolutions appeared to reflect growing African skepticism as to the outcome of the American effort to obtain a peaceful transfer of power from white to black in Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa).

The United States, Britain, France, and other Western countries found themselves pilloried as arms suppliers and economic "collaborators" with the "racist regime." Israel was singled out in one resolution for its "increasing collaboration" with South Africa. These speeches were turned to Page 32.

## Europe to Kissinger:

## 'I've grown accustomed to your face'

By Joseph C. Harsch  
Washington

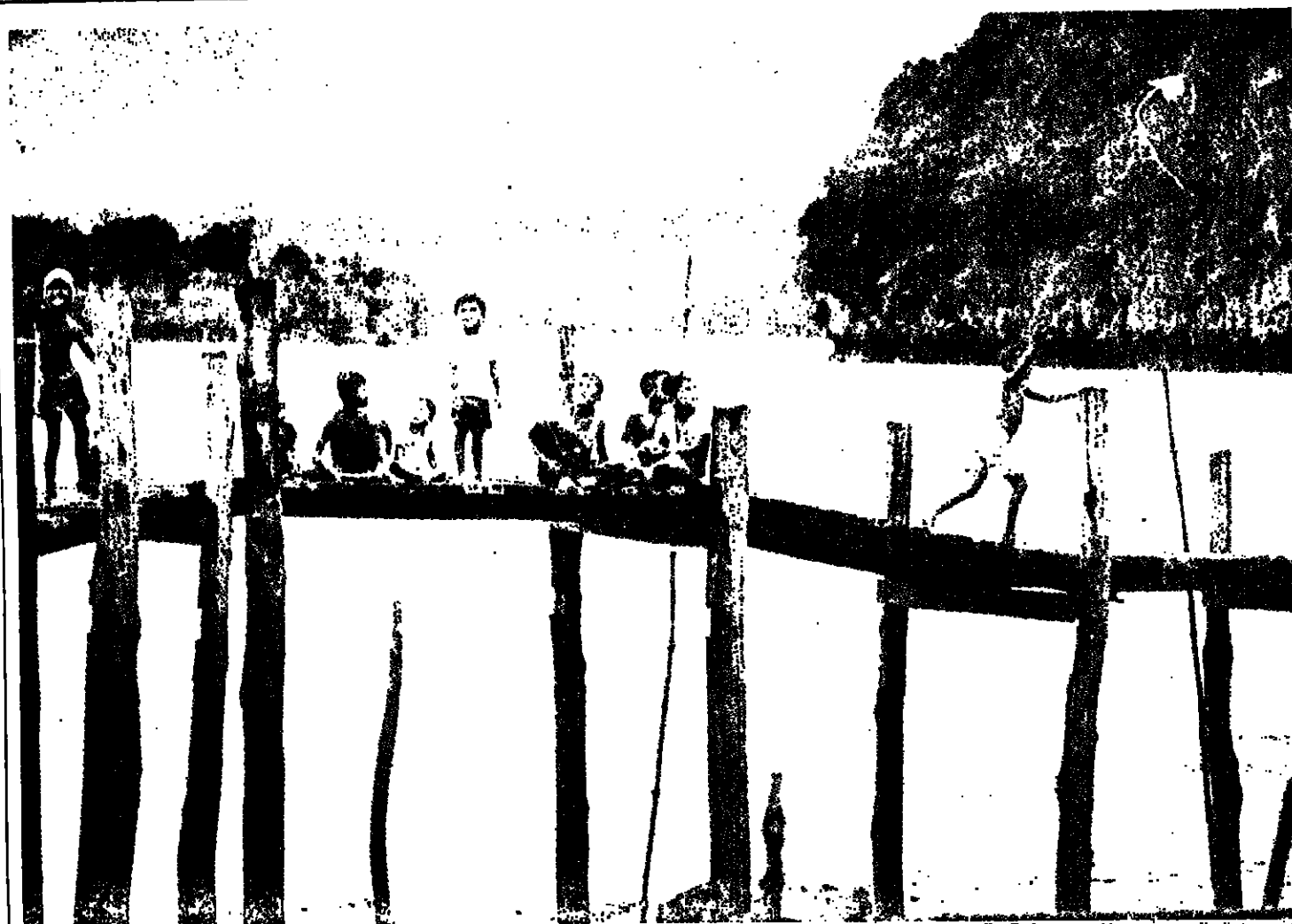
President-Elect Carter has announced as his first foreign policy task the repairing of American relations with the West European allies. But when he actually gets down to that work he will find that he has been misinformed about the nature of the problem.

There will indeed be a problem, but it will be to establish a good Carter relationship with allies who expected President Ford to be re-elected and who looked forward to four more years of collaboration with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. They were astonished when Mr. Carter won. They are baffled at the prospect of a foreign policy world with no Henry Kissinger at its center after Jan. 20. They have no idea what will take his place.

The Carter assumption of a neglected relationship in need of repair is two years out of date. There was a time when Dr. Kissinger neglected the old alliances with Western Europe and with Japan. But that condition belonged to the painful twilight days of the Vietnam war and to the period during and immediately after the last Arab-Israeli war in late 1973.

Differences were indeed sharp during that last episode. When West Germans and British discovered that American tanks were being flown from the NATO front lines to re-supply Israel, both these allies forbade the use of

\*Please turn to Page 32



Fishing village, Phang-nga Bay, Thailand.

In Asia the foundations of democracy prove to be frail indeed

## Asia's struggle with democracy

## Thailand illustrates a growing trend

By Frederic A. Moritz  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

"Things will be better now. But later they may get worse."

The speaker was a Thai civil servant, a man who had supported his country's three-year experiment with democracy and who now welcomed the order brought by last month's military coup.

His words may well express a growing Asian dilemma, as democratic ideals imported from the West slip further into retreat.

## But would Jimmy Carter ever make a proper Englishman?

By Gerald Priestland  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Whatever became of Ohio? And those impounded New York voting machines? Oregon, which way did you vote?

I spent the whole night anchoring an American election results program here in London, and I still don't know the answers to these questions. It is like having the waters come in and clear away before you have finished the meal.

But apparently the American voters really have decided not to buy a used Ford but to be carried away by Carter, so perhaps it doesn't matter whether Oregon makes its mind up or not. Just so long as the network computers are happy. I'll join Mayor Daley of Chicago on his fishing trip to Florida.

\*Please turn to Page 32

## There need not be another world slump

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Will the economic slowdown, now worldwide in scope, deepen into another recession among industrial nations?

Most economists think not — if the economic giants, the United States, Japan, and West Germany — gun the engines of their economies to build new trade momentum around the world.

The danger in such a course is that inflation, running close to 6 percent in the U.S., 9.5 percent in Japan, and nearly 4 percent in West Germany, would heat up if too much stimulus were applied.

Current economic growth rates, on the other hand, are too slow to bring down unemployment.

\*Please turn to Page 32

## A very special 'peace prize'

Nobody was awarded the official Nobel Peace Prize this year, but we are pleased to learn that those two sturdy advocates of peace in Northern Ireland, Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan, are scheduled to receive what might be termed a consolation peace prize from the Norwegian people. And it will be a whopper, well over the \$152,000 stipend that accompanies the Nobel awards.

## Jailed in India

It is with sorrow and astonishment that we learn of the arrest of Indian journalist K. R. Sundar Rajan. He reportedly is being detained by authorities in part because of commentary he wrote for this newspaper as well as for the Los Angeles Times.

Dr. Rajan, a well-known and respected journalist, has been a vocal critic of the Indian government's policies in India and abroad. He has been a vocal critic of the Indian government's policies in India and abroad.

What Mr. Rajan, an assistant editor of the respected Times of India and vice chairman of the Bombay Union of Journalists, wrote for the Monitor is hardly inflammatory. He acknowledged the economic gains in India, the risk in productivity, the support of the rural peasants for some of Mrs. Gandhi's emergency laws. But he observed, too, the bewilderment of many Indians over the loss of civil liberties.

Far from deserving the "interests of India's international relations," as Indian authorities reportedly charge, commentaries like those by Mr. Rajan enhance India's stature in the eyes of readers. For they suggest that Indian journalists are still free to speak out and that the suspension of civil rights in India is less than total.



'One eats peanut butter this way'



## Highlights



**INTERVIEW.** Hitler was far more complicated than has been realized, according to his latest biographer John Toland, who talked to 150 people who had been close to the dictator. Page 24

**THE CONCORDE.** Hopes for the super-sound aircraft rise again as some Asian countries look it over. Page 5

**JIMMY CARTER.** The President-Elect reassures those who "question what is going to happen" when he is in the White House. Page 18

**PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION.** Both the Israeli and the PLO points of view are discussed and explained by Monitor correspondents. Page 12

**LITTLE LION.** "Little Lion's Shadow" is a story especially written for small children. Page 6

## Index

ARTS	40, 41
BOOKS	41
CHILDREN	28
COMMENTARY	46, 47
EDUCATION	35, 36
FINANCIAL	30
HOME	39
HOME FORUM	44, 45
PEOPLE	33, 34
SCIENCE	37
SPORTS	29
TRANSLATIONS	42, 43
TRAVEL	38

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## FOCUS

## Aliens cheat Uncle Sam

By Lucia Mouat

Washington  
A Philippines' citizen earning \$14,700 as a fund administrator at a Brooklyn, New York, hospital... a British citizen earning \$175 a week as a design engineer in New York... a Pakistani, who came to the United States as a student, employed as a court administrator in Philadelphia.

What do they all have in common besides their foreignness?

For one, their illegal status. All were apprehended — the government's preferred word for caught — as illegal aliens during the last six months by U.S. immigration and customs authorities.

Yet these are not those Latin Americans sneaking across U.S. southern borders in the dark of night that Americans have read so much about and who account for the great bulk of the 766,000 illegal aliens nabbed last year by U.S. Government officials.

These are the "other" illegal aliens rarely talked about.

They often enter the U.S. legally as tourists or students. Then they simply stay past their temporary time limit. They may not qualify for one of the 590,000 permanent-resident visas granted to incoming foreigners each year, and their job skills may not be in short enough supply to merit special

Department of Labor certification.

Yet, it is these "other" illegal aliens who often hold down some of America's best-paying skilled and semiprofessional jobs — jobs which many Americans in this time of unemployment would like to have.

Some of these self-styled settlers — such as the design engineer, who was caught re-entering the U.S. from Canada with a non-immigrant visa — have no social-security card and have managed to avoid tax deductions.

Not all realize they are breaking U.S. law.

"We know in some cases they don't, because they come in and ask us for documents — and they're appalled to learn they're breaking the law," says Silas Jervis, spokesman for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

However, many others are aware of the law and take advantage of every legal step from administrative review to court appeals to fight deportation. The process has been known to drag out in some cases over 20 years.

"It can be very hard to get rid of someone who doesn't want to go," says Mr. Jervis.

Often it is a challenge for the INS just to find out what country the illegal alien is, in

fact, a citizen of. Once pinpointed, the country must be willing to accept him back.

Consider the case of an Israeli in Washington who successfully fought deportation for more than a dozen years. When the deportation date finally came up a year ago, he simply didn't show up. Now the INS is aware of his whereabouts once again, but he has since written the Israeli consulate to disown his citizenship, a move which Israel accepted. Unless the INS finds another country willing to accept him, according to Mr. Jervis, he will remain here on a stateless basis.

Almost the only defense in fighting deportation is to have a spouse who is a U.S. citizen, and some illegal aliens rush to marry during the appeal process.

While foreign students can do limited on-campus work, any other work undertaken requires specific INS permission. Mr. Jervis, who claims the service has relaxed its stance in view of inflationary pressures, says about half of all requests received are granted. No foreign student can legally stay beyond a post-student special trainee period. Mr. Jervis says INS records show 95,000 former foreign students who now are "definite overstay."

Though INS employees frequently have complained they are not a big enough hand to do the job required, officials look more to such answers as counterfeit-proof identification cards (they are working on them) and legislation, currently stalled in Congress, which would make it a crime for employers knowingly to hire illegal aliens.

## Macmillan to the rescue?

By Francis Renny  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

London  
Hard on the heels of Lord Home and Lord Hailsham, with their calls for some kind of constitutional renewal of Britain, comes Mr. (still, determinedly, not even "Sir") Harold Macmillan. In a special interview with BBC star interviewer Robin Day, the former premier called for a government of national unity, and toyed with the idea of leading it himself. He is 82, but as he pointed out, Gladstone formed his last government at 83.

## VIEW FROM LONDON

Mr. Macmillan said he had scrupulously kept out of politics for the past 13 years. But now he felt impelled to make some sort of contribution to solving the nation's problems. He told a little like Rip Van Winkle (the mythical American who returned to the world after slumbering 20 years), but he had tried to keep in touch. There had been many changes for the worse: Soviet imperialism was much stronger. America was weakened by Vietnam and Watergate. At home, the productive and nonproductive proportions of society had changed.

He said the nation's wealth had to be put to health, teaching and other services. And of the three-fifths of the population who were at work, less than half were actually making things. The manufacturing base was too small to support a large superstructure. Mr. Macmillan said that the healthiest way to invest in industry was to play in your own back yard. Ten or twelve years ago the average profile of private industry before tax was about 15 percent. Now he doubted whether they were three or four percent. The money was not there, and you could hardly afford to borrow it with interest rates over 15 percent.

In a burst of the old familiar wit, Macmillan said of the pound sterling: "The only people who really speculated heavily in the pound are the Bank of England, and they've lost a great deal of money doing it. They'd better have stuck to bingo."

Would the former premier like to see an



Macmillan: 'Britain needs a government of national unity'

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## Europe

## NATO tests meshing of allied troops

Fall maneuvers geared to a conventional 'attack'

By David Mutch

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Rome

This is the kind of situation NATO military strategists plan for:

Western intelligence sources have been picking up "anomalies" that suggest a rapid attack by Warsaw Pact forces. No one is sure where or when the attack will come.

It comes suddenly in northern Germany, across an area of the inter-German border guarded and commanded by the Netherlands. Since NATO forces are spread out all up and down the German border, and the enemy forces are high in number and very mobile, this combat sector needs immediate reinforcement.

NATO's full exercises, most of which ended in October, were designed to deal with just such a crisis as this.

Communist forces have developed great conventional power, flexibility, and ability to move quickly. NATO's earlier reliance on atomic capability was just not adequate to deal with the new situation.

In short, the strategic threat to NATO has changed in recent years, military strategists say. In addition to the massive Soviet strategic missile buildup, Warsaw Pact conventional forces are said to be stronger, quicker, and better equipped than ever before.

As Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr., NATO commander, has said, "It is a situation in which we will have reduced warning time."

## New emphasis

These strategic changes have led General Haig to give a new emphasis to NATO, a "realism" of meshing the forces of different countries in practical situations to increase the alliance's conventional fighting ability.

At a briefing with this newspaper about the results of the fall exercises involving NATO troops, a group of military strategists from the U.S. European Command here, directly under General Haig, made the following points:

• NATO's ability to use forces of different nations together was thoroughly tested and found quite successful.

As in the example above, a combat sector under Netherlands command might use U.S., West German, Belgian, and British forces all at the same time to repel an attack. Differ-

ences of language, terminology, and equipment (to name a few) would have to be bridged. Before this year, this meshing of forces existed more "on paper than in practice."

• NATO commanders saw and for the first time worked with the unique 101st Airborne Division from Ft. Campbell, Ky. This is said to be the only unit of its kind in the world. It is highly mobile and can move troops, mortars, machine guns, 105-mm. howitzers, and two types of anti-armor weapons systems all by helicopter. It was developed in part in Vietnam.

## Enthusiasm expressed

U.S. analysts told this newspaper that the allies were "highly enthusiastic" about the division's capabilities. In fact, one ally has already indicated interest in adding such mobility to some of its fighting units as a result of the fall exercises.

• Sources within the U.S. Command here say they are more than pleased with the smoothness with which massive amounts of equipment were brought over from the United States for the exercises. In earlier years the 10,000 or so U.S. troops brought over annually drew their equipment in Europe. This year the 101st brought its own. Months of planning was necessary.

Ships were unloaded in Belgium and the Netherlands. Some 4,000 troops were brought over by plane to receive and assemble the equipment. Helicopters were then flown to West Germany. Other equipment was moved by convoys.

One officer said: "The host nations did all they said they would and more, and now they are asking about what they can do next year. For years we have wanted to test the procedures for moving masses of equipment by sea into Europe and then on into Germany. Now we proved we can do it."

## Information 'invaluable'

These sources said the information gathered in these activities is "invaluable." In the event of war, much more would be known about how to coordinate "almost endless details."

• There is this year much more willingness to identify problems within each nation's forces and also problems that arise at "interface," when forces of different nationalities come together.

The air assault capabilities of the 101st Airborne are so unusual that European commanders had to see it to begin to comprehend how they might use its units in their areas.

This unit has the Cobra helicopter as its "tank." The Cobra is equipped with the lethal TOW missile, which can knock out tanks at a 94 percent rate of accuracy. It was tested in Vietnam.

One officer says: "Commanders using this unit have to get over the idea of putting a fighting unit in a foxhole. This kind of a unit just moves and fights. And its tremendous capability to knock out whole tank units must be understood to be utilized."

## A new look for Soviet policy

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow  
Behind the color, lights, and movement of the Nov. 7 anniversary parade in Moscow was a Soviet global diplomacy also on the move to face a range of new leaders and developments. As the Politburo, led by Leonid Brezhnev,

reviewed the parade from Lenin's mausoleum, the Soviet leadership appeared to be:

• Courting the new leaders in Washington and Peking.

• Mending fences and trying to tighten ideological control throughout Eastern Europe.

• Probing to recover lost ground in the Middle East.

Soviet leaders are being low key and hopeful toward U.S. President-Elect Jimmy Carter. Although publicly regretting the anti-Soviet statements of the long campaign, leaders make it clear they want to build on the agreements signed at and since the Nixon-Brezhnev summit in 1972 that set limits on the development of antiballistic missile systems.

In particular they want a new strategic arms limitation (SALT) agreement, but they may have to wait until Mr. Carter has reviewed the complex talks so far.

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## GIs in Germany learn to speak to their hosts

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Fulda, West Germany  
Fifteen attentive students listened to their German-language teacher and answered her questions in broken but enthusiastic German. "Ich heisse John Harris" (my name is John Harris). "Bitte, sprechen Sie langsam" (please, speak slowly), repeated another.

Fledgling diplomats? College students in Europe for a year? No. Just a group of GIs taking their required one-week course in German language and culture.

Over the past 30 years, millions of GIs have had a tour in Germany. It may be one of the

biggest one-way cultural exchange programs in history. But traditionally many of these soldiers never learn much more than "Wo ist der Bahnhof?" (where is the train station?).

Head Start — the required week of language and culture for all troops in West Germany — may not turn out polished linguists.

"But it avoids a lot of initial shyness and awkwardness and certainly it warms up a lot of Germans who see these boys at least trying," says Frau Rex.

Nearly all the soldiers have this week of training right after arrival at their units in Germany.

Top NCOs and officers, in the Gateway to

Germany program, take up to 120 hours (three weeks) of German. This is a new program. Head Start has been in effect for more than two years now.

Talks with soldiers and their wives make it clear that more could be done to get wives into the courses. Funding is enough only for the GIs, now, however.

"I'd love to have just one woman student in here," said Frau Rex, "just to balance things for me."

The present administrator of the Fulda courses — on the job for two weeks — says he would let wives in. But this is not yet SOP (standard operating procedure).

Top NCOs and officers, in the Gateway to

Czechoslovakia's Gustav Husak has been here briefly; Polish and East German leaders are soon to follow; and Mr. Brezhnev is to visit both Yugoslavia and Romania before the end of the month.

He is expected to attend a Warsaw Pact meeting in Bucharest, the Romanian Capital, at the end of the month, which will be the first gathering of the pact's top-level political committee for 2½ years.

Behind all this motion, analysts say, lies a variety of motives. The Soviets are thought to be concerned at the independence of Communist parties in Western Europe and at the possibilities that such independence could seep into the Eastern bloc following the Helsinki declaration's calls for more exchanges with the West and the conference of East European Communist parties in East Berlin last June.

The final declaration from East Berlin failed to mention "proletarian internationalism" (the Soviet catchphrase for its own ideological domination of the communist movement worldwide), but it insisted that each party has the right to pursue its own course.

Soviet eagerness to reassert its dominance is thought to underlie the nine-nation Soviet-bloc gathering on ideology in Sofia, Bulgaria, next month.

Moscow has been testing its strained ties with Egypt. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko is back from his quick meeting with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy in Bulgaria.

The two countries agreed they wanted another Geneva conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict. They agreed future bilateral contacts would be useful. But that seemed to be all. Egyptian sources say Cairo sought the meeting. Other sources say Moscow did.

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# Europe

## Ulster: more violent teen-agers

By Jonathan Marsch  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

**Dublin**  
Teen-agers in Northern Ireland are becoming increasingly involved in terrorist violence. So far this year 215 boys and girls aged from 14 to 18 have appeared in court charged with serious terrorist offenses, according to figures released by the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Over the whole of last year the total of teen-agers charged on such counts was 175. Of those charged this year 20 youngsters — three of them under 16 years — were accused of murder. Another 18 youths were charged with attempted murder. Five children under 14 were charged with planting gasoline bombs or with hijacking offenses.

Over the weekend one murder was reported in a string of acts of violence. The victim was a young man who was shot dead as he was standing guard outside a Roman Catholic tavern in Belfast.

The assailant was a passenger aboard a light-weight motorcycle who fired five shots at close range when the driver stopped outside the tavern. Both young men on the motorcycle looked like teen-agers out for a joy ride. After the shooting they disappeared into the Belfast traffic.

The police are appealing to parents to control their children, warning that failure to do so could mean long years in prison.

A police spokesman said that as older terrorists are being locked up in greater numbers, remaining terrorists are forcing youngsters into the front lines. He warned that once youngsters are lured into the terrorist organizations, their leaders will seek to ensure that there is no way out for them.

The clear lesson for young people is to stay away from extremist organizations on both sides of the religious divide in Northern Ireland, the spokesman added.



A spot-check of teen-agers outside a bombed-out Belfast building

## Ultimatum from Spain's left: 'We will boycott vote unless ...'

By Joe Gandelman  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

**Madrid**  
Spain's leftist opposition has issued a virtual ultimatum to the government by setting out conditions on which it would agree to participate in the upcoming referendum on constitutional reform.

It threatened a "campaign of active boycott" if its conditions are not met.

King Juan Carlos's reformist government is due to hold the referendum sometime this winter to ask for approval of its plans for parliamentary elections next spring.

The leftist challenge came during a meeting in the Canary Islands of the executive committee of the Platform of Democratic Organizations. The platform links various opposition groups but is essentially dominated by communists and by the internationally recognized "renovated" wing of the splintered Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE).

The leftist leaders dismissed the referendum as a ploy by Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez to "try to retain the power monopoly held by the same class during 37 years."

Their demands include:  
• Partial control over the referendum vote, a demand reflecting uneasiness over Spain's long history of questionable elections.

• Legalization of all labor groups and the banned Communist Party. The powerful 380,000-man Army which backs the King presently opposes Communist Party legalization. However, the Army is expected to eventually give ground on this issue — but most likely not until after next spring's elections.

The leftist opposition demands it now.  
• Total amnesty (in other words, releasing convicted terrorists). A poorly timed amnesty could endanger the political reforms which still must pass the Cortes (parliament). Total amnesty was, in fact, considered in late September until Basque Marxist separatists of the ETA terrorist organization murdered a high Basque official and four others. There seems little likelihood of total amnesty now, since it would anger police and rightists.

• Dismantling Franco era public order courts and anti-terrorism laws.

The platform declared that "any referendum called without fulfilling (these) conditions would be rejected." It endorsed plans by leftist labor unions for Spain's first general strike in 40 years. The labor groups want Spanish workers to get a 60 percent pay boost.

The leftist opposition's uncompromising posture starkly contrasts with that of center-right groups like former Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne's Popular Alliance, an electoral coalition of six ex-Franco ministers who have in effect "negotiated" with the government on key points. The alliance now indicates it will vote for the reform package in the Cortes despite reservations.

Another opposition sector has expressed softer minimum conditions. It asks that Prime Minister Suarez guarantee that the Communist Party be legalized after the elections. While such a demand might still cause problems, it would at least leave room for compromise — and buy needed time.

Many here think new U.S. president Jimmy Carter could help to resolve Spain's thorniest issue by ending American opposition to the Communist Party's legalization.

Future hopes also rest heavily on Mr. Suarez's relatively open style, which has led to predictions he may negotiate with the opposition once reforms pass the Cortes. At present he cannot go too far since a right-wing backlash could endanger the still-pending reform package.

Meanwhile, polls show about 60 percent of the Spaniards support government reforms, will vote yes in the referendum, are basically anti-terrorist, conservative — and above all want order and prosperity.

## Concorde scans Asia for new nesting grounds

By Frederic A. Moritz  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

**Hong Kong**  
French Transport Minister Marcel Cavaillat declared on Nov. 2 that additional Concorde would be built only if a permanent transatlantic route was approved.

This statement came after reports from Washington, D.C., that President-Elect Carter was unlikely to approve permanent Concorde flights to New York and Washington after the current one-year trial flight period to Washington, D.C., expires.

Nevertheless, the giant needle-nosed bird, which can cut air travel time in half, is undauntedly seeking new nests on the landing fields of Asia.

A demonstration model of the controversial Anglo-French super-sonic airliner has been whipping in and out of airports in Singapore, Manila, Hong Kong, and Jakarta.

Inside the Air France plane, airline officials, newsmen, and dignitaries, including Philippine's First Lady Imelda Marcos, have packed the Concorde's 100 seats.

Outside, tourists, residents of nearby crowded apartment areas, and (in Hong Kong) a university engineering research team, have listened carefully for the takeoff whine that has drawn environmentalists' opposition.

The Hong Kong researchers put Concorde's takeoff noise level at 118 decibels, compared to



By R. Norman Metheny, staff photographer

The supersonic Concorde: Will sales take off in Asia?

the 115 decibels of the loudest current jet passenger aircraft, the Boeing 707.

The demonstration run clocked in at only seven hours and 21 minutes for the 6,700 mile trip from Paris to Singapore. The Concorde also made the usual two-hour trip from Manila to Hong Kong in only 51 minutes.

During this 8-day period (from Nov. 3 to 11) the promotional tour sought customers among airlines in Singapore, the Philippines, China, and Japan.

At least two major Asian airlines (Singapore Airlines and Philippines Airlines) are interested in the possibility of leasing two planes each for Asian regional service, according to

officials of the British Aircraft Corporation and of the French Aerospatiale Company.

Officials for the two Asian airlines said their representatives accompanied the demonstration flight. However, they would not comment on the state of negotiations.

Japan Airlines has options to buy two Concorde. But the plane was not authorized to land at Tokyo's congested Haneda Airport during the current tour.

On Nov. 6 a 30-member delegation from the China Resources Company of the People's Republic of China examined the Concorde in Hong Kong for more than two hours.

In July, 1972, the Chinese took up options at

lowing them to buy three Concorde if they so chose.

But there is still no sign the Chinese are seriously negotiating to buy Concorde, one diplomatic source here said. Although the Chinese have periodically discussed their options with Concorde representatives, this is probably to keep up with the most current technical and financial information on the plane, he explained.

Moreover, purchase of the planes — valued at about \$61 million each — would drain China's foreign exchange supply, the same source said. Chinese trade officials have recently told foreign visitors that foreign exchange shortages will slow imports for several years.

But expansion of Chinese international routes since late 1974 leaves long-term Concorde possibilities on runs from Peking to Paris; Peking to Tirana, Albania; and Peking to Zurich, Switzerland.

## Will French say no to EC parliament?

By Jim Browning  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

**Paris**  
Plans for a directly elected parliament to represent the nine countries of the European Community face an acid test in France, which could well determine their success or failure.

Foreign ministers of the Nine agreed in principle to the project at a meeting in Brussels on Sept. 20.

The long-term hope is that an active supranational parliament would be the first major step in building a European political confederation or United States of Europe. At present the parliament of the European Community is composed of representatives nominated by the parliaments of the member states, and its role is mainly consultative.

France and Britain are the only countries where strong opposition to a directly elected parliament has grown up, and the British are too preoccupied with their economic troubles to pay much attention now.

In France the national independence issue is

an emotional one. It also poses dangerous political problems since it divides President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's governing alliance with the Gaullists.

The President's support for a directly elected European parliament is seen here as the first test of his authority since Gaullist Prime Minister Jacques Chirac resigned at the end of August.

For that reason, the President has decided to try to quiet the issue by stealing a march on the Gaullists and Communists, who are curiously united in considering the direct election idea unconstitutional.

He has submitted the direct election proposal to the French Constitutional Council. It is an unusual move, particularly since the council is dominated by Gaullists.

But if the council rejects the project, the President will offer a constitutional amendment. If it approves the idea, he will have ripped the unconstitutionality question in the bud.

Despite the enormous difficulty of setting up a European political confederation, which

makes West German leaders, for example, cynical about the idea, the French President has continued pushing for it.

In a recent newspaper interview he said too much concern about what an eventual confederation would look like was pointless, because the idea was still so far away.

Moreover, Europe now does not resemble the American colonies in the 18th century.

"Europeans are people who have fought among themselves for 2,000 years with remarkable relentlessness, who have different languages, different cultures, different religions, and very strong personalities," the President told the publisher of the evening newspaper France Soir.

"Their organization of a confederation is, in my opinion, a task more difficult and at least as creative as the building of the federal structure in the United States. Realizing this confederation must be our first objective."

In a newspaper article earlier this year, a former president of the Constitutional Council, Gaullist "Baron" Gaston Palewski, summarized his party's fears of lost national independence:

"Doesn't the election of a European parliament by universal suffrage threaten to submit France to the law of the majority when up to now we have been the only ones to defend the hope of European independence [through General de Gaulle's policies]?" he asked.

President Giscard d'Estaing spent over an hour with former Prime Minister Chirac on Nov. 4, reportedly mending fences and striking a "gentleman's agreement" to stick together in the face of the Socialist-Communist Left.

Mr. Chirac may well have agreed not to mount all-out opposition to a European parliament. But it is still not clear whether he can control the older "Barons," who already are organizing a "committee for the unity and independence of France."

Curiously, another crucial aspect of the European debate could be the position of the Socialists, who, unlike the Communists, support a directly elected Parliament. But they are demanding that the vote be based on proportional representation, something the Gaullists are unlikely to accept.

## A black family in Germany

By David Match  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

**Hattenhof, West Germany**  
Mrs. Barbara Whitley looked down, smiled a half-smile, with a touch of irony, and said: "You know, I hate to be stared at, and when I rode the bus the first time in Germany, everyone looked at me. My husband Larry just said, 'Get used to it, honey, they are going to stare.' So I got used to it."

"This small, pretty, and black GI housewife was sharing some of her experiences of life in a small German village — Hattenhof — where black Americans are even more rare than in large German cities."

"Now I just smile back and go on my way," she said.

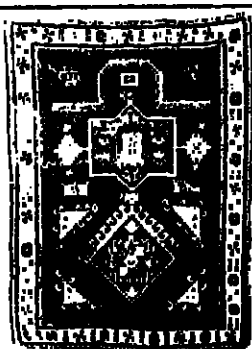
She and her husband Sp. Larry Whitley,

who does information work for the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment in nearby Fulda, say they are quite happy in their German village.

"In town," says Mrs. Whitley, "it can be very impersonal." ("In town" is Fulda.) "But in Hattenhof everyone knows us and it is friendly." Coldness between people, she is convinced, comes primarily from just not knowing each other. "up close enough."

"We were in the local restaurant a few days ago," Mrs. Whitley said, "and the owner came out and brought Waymon (the Whitleys' two-year-old son) to the back of the dining room and introduced him to some friends."

Waymon plays with a German boy, Guido, of the same age. "Those two speak a German together that no one else understands at all," says Waymon's father. His older boy, also named Larry, speaks German quite well and translates for his mother in the local store.



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# Asia

## India and Bangladesh relations remain sour

By Atias Samad  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Dacca, Bangladesh  
Relations between India and Bangladesh, which turned sour in August, 1975, are not improving with the passage of time.

In fact, analysts here in the Bangladesh capital say they expect "provocative acts" from the other side of the border to continue. The attitude of the government is that it will resist all pressures and provocations of Indian origin without at the same time becoming involved in a direct conflict. Already it has taken one of its complaints against India before the United Nations General Assembly.

There are two sources of friction between

the countries: border clashes and armed insurgencies on the one hand and the Farakka Barrage water-diversion project on the other.

According to official sources, Bangladesh border outposts continue to come under fire from the other side or from insurgents trained or otherwise aided by Indians. The latest reported incident came on Oct. 7 in the district of Mymensingh in northern Bangladesh opposite the Indian state of Meghalaya. Similar incidents occasionally are reported in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in southeastern Bangladesh.

The officials say India tipped off its unwillingness to prevent border incidents earlier this year when it effectively scuttled investigation into them by refusing to sign records of evidence that had been examined

together by both sides. Now these officials claim that India has opened camps to train infiltrators and that these camps are attached to those of the Indian Border Security Force.

According to reports, the Bangladesh security forces have been able to keep the situation under control and, in the bargain, the infiltrators have found it difficult to operate inside Bangladesh because of the hostility of local residents. What is of concern, officials here say, is the attitude of the Indian Government in the matter.

There are at least three interpretations of that attitude:

- That India wants to pressure the people and the government of Bangladesh into becoming pliable.

- That India's dislike of the present government in Dacca is so great that it will stop its harassment only after a change of government here.

- That India is looking for an opportunity to intervene in internal Bangladesh affairs.

The Farakka Barrage situation is equally sensitive. Last year India began diverting the waters of the Ganges River by means of the barrage, or dam, at a point 11 miles from the Bangladesh border. India says it needs the water to flush silt from the vital port of Calcutta.

But Bangladesh charges that the unilateral withdrawal of Ganges River water has undercut its downstream irrigation projects, resulting in a smaller than usual rice harvest, and

has caused the intrusion of saline sea water deep into the mainland. It says more than one-third of its land area and 25 million of its people have so far been affected by the water diversion project.

Bilateral talks aimed at resolving the issue have failed, and the Dacca government has brought its complaint before the UN to draw world attention to the dispute and to try to show that it contains the seeds of potential conflict. Observers here say that if the people of Bangladesh continue to be deprived of most of the Ganges water — especially during the dry months — there likely will be heavy domestic pressure on the government and unsettling political fallout.

India says it has offered Bangladesh half of the dry-season flow of the Ganges. The Dacca government counters that the offer actually was less than that. It says even half the dry-season flow would not be enough and that in any event the Indian offer would not bring a permanent solution to the problem.

India also proposes that a canal be built to divert the waters of another river, the Brahmaputra, across Bangladesh and into the Ganges. But under the plan both the intake and offtake points would be inside India, and the Dacca government argues that this would give India a potential stranglehold over Bangladesh. Not even the government of the late Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, which India had considered friendly, would agree to the plan.

## Hua personality cult builds

By Reuter

Peking  
Only one month after he succeeded Mao Tse-tung, a personality cult is being rapidly built around China's Communist Party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Official newspapers laud him as "the wise leader," poets and songwriters sing his praises, and his color portrait appears increasingly alongside that of the venerated Mao.

The party newspaper People's Daily Nov. 9 carried a virtually unprecedented front-page article outlining Mr. Hua's personal qualities and professional experience. It described him as selfless, open, straightforward, modest, and prudent. "... Comrade Hua Kuo-feng is democratic in his style of work, unassuming and approachable, good at uniting with comrades to work together."

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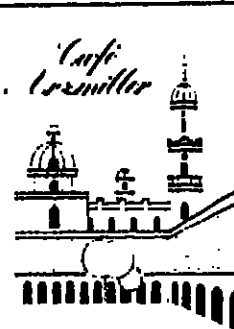
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## Lufthansa's anniversary

By Philip W. Whitcomb  
Special to  
The Christian Science  
Monitor

"No special clothes are  
needed when you fly with  
us," Lufthansa proudly told  
its passengers in 1930. "Just  
dress as you would for a train  
journey."

These reassuring words  
were part of the "Ten Rules  
for Travelers by Air" which  
Lufthansa, merger of Deutsche  
Aero, Lloyd and Junkers  
Luftverkehr and already four  
years old, issued to its daring  
and still rather open-minded  
passengers.

Rule 1 would discourage  
the confident stand-by pas-  
sengers of 1930.

"You can reserve your seat  
with any travel agent," the  
hopeful traveler was told,  
"but reserve early, for the  
normal seating capacity is  
only 8 or 10 passengers."

Even with that limitation,  
well over a third of the  
world's air travel at that date  
was in Germany, most of it to  
and from Berlin, with the  
Berlin-Munich run, served by  
an astounding three flights a  
day each way, as the chief  
line.

## Chilling remark

Rule 2, the one about wear-  
ing your ordinary clothes, in-  
cluded a rather chilling side  
remark. "Cabins are heated  
in the cold season," the trav-  
eler was told.

Car plugs were obligatory  
under Rule 5, and smoking  
banned by Rule 7. Rule 8 dealt  
with sickness, which it  
said was not to be feared ex-  
cept in very stormy weather.  
For those not affected, it  
would be necessary only "to  
admire the view, or to read  
or write."

Fresh air, of course, was  
essential and under Rule 8  
your window should be  
opened if necessary — but  
not, under any circum-  
stances, for the purpose of  
throwing out anything that  
might "fall on the little  
people far below."

Taking photographs was  
forbidden by Rule 9, and  
cameras must therefore re-  
main in your traveling case.

Some travelers, even with  
no photographs to show as  
proof, tended to exaggerate  
their personal prowess in  
having flown so high. Rule 10  
put them in their place:  
"Please do not pretend to be  
a hero because you have  
flown. No special courage is  
required today for air travel.  
Instead, aid the cause of all  
aviation by enlightening those  
who still imagine air travel to  
be dangerous."

## 50th anniversary

For Lufthansa today, 1976  
is no bi-centenary, nor even  
a centenary. But it is the 50th  
anniversary of the merger  
from which Lufthansa was  
born and the 50 years have  
seen changes. The steward  
who often had to ask his 8 or  
10 passengers to "come to  
the front of the plane, till we  
can get off the ground" has  
been replaced by women who  
treat passengers like family  
guests.

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# Asia

## Election showdown for Miki

Japan's leader faces threat in own party

By Frederic A. Moritz  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

**Hong Kong**  
With general elections for the Japanese Diet (the lower house of Parliament) expected to be held Dec. 5, the battle over who will head the Japanese Government and deal with President Carter is growing.  
Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda resigned his post Nov. 5 to pursue his campaign to oust Prime Minister Takeo Miki.  
Mr. Fukuda already has been chosen as Mr. Miki's successor by the Liberal Democratic Party's Council for Party Unity (CPU) — a powerful group of Diet members that seeks to

oust the Prime Minister. (The Liberal Democratic Party is a conservative party which is heavily based in rural areas.)

One reason the CPU seeks to depose Mr. Miki is the fact that he allowed investigation of the \$12.8 million Lockheed scandal to proceed, despite the political risks of implicating Liberal Democratic politicians, including former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka.

Mr. Miki also drew conservative opposition by passing political funding reform laws and proposing legislation designed to restrict monopolies and guarantee the right to strike.

Mr. Fukuda says he will work to support anti-Miki Liberal Democratic Party candidates for the Diet.

His resignation is but the latest chapter in the long effort of Mr. Miki's foes to oust him as head of the ruling party and hence also as Prime Minister.

In late September the opposing factions temporarily buried their differences to pass key financial bills in the Diet.

Then, with success for revenue and railway fare increase bills apparently assured, the anti-Miki forces planned to dump the Prime Minister as party president at a party convention scheduled for Oct. 31. But only two days before the showdown, party elders worked out a compromise plan to avoid disruption of the party before the voting by freezing the dispute until after the general elections.

It thus appears likely that Mr. Miki will be able to lead his party into the December elections for the Diet.

Should the Liberal Democrats make a strong showing in the elections, increased prestige for Mr. Miki could help him ward off his opponents, some observers suggest.

But Mr. Fukuda's resignation will enable

him to try to increase his leverage to oust Mr. Miki after the election. And Mr. Fukuda's hand was strengthened recently by the withdrawal of the second major contender for Mr. Miki's post, Finance Minister Masayoshi Ohira.

Overshadowing all this is the question: How much will the Lockheed scandal and squabbling within the faction-ridden Liberal Democratic Party weaken the party's election showing to the benefit of opposition groups — the Japanese Socialist Party, the Japanese Communist Party, and the Komei (clean government) Party?

A possible embarrassment to the Liberal Democratic Party is that former Prime Minister Tanaka, now awaiting trial on charges of involvement in the Lockheed scandal, is preparing to run for the Diet as an independent — apparently in an effort to seek public vindication.

Also running are some 50 other members of the Tanaka faction, plus the party's "gray officials" (those who have been implicated but not charged in the Lockheed case).

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# South Africa

## Afrikaners fight defeatism as apartheid is attacked

By Humphrey Tyler  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town — Many Afrikaner nationalists are going through a traumatic political heart-searching as criticism of the policies of the ruling National Party mounts. More and more of them recognize that "apartheid," or "separate development" of the races, is not working out the way they thought.

The result has been almost desperate calls from National Party newspapers and politicians to the "Afrikaner volk" (the Afrikaner people) to overcome the "growing spirit of defeatism" and to remember their "mission in Africa."

Even Cabinet ministers are joining in.

Prime Minister John Vorster himself has assailed clergymen who he says are trying to use the Bible as a "textbook for political left-wingers." He sees an attempt to "give the Afrikaner a guilty conscience" by claiming that separate development is sinful and in conflict with Christian teachings, and to give the impression that "nationalist Afrikaners have exploited people of other races, deprived them of their rights, or robbed them of their possessions."

Other Cabinet ministers, including the Minister of Sport, Dr. Piet Koornhof, have appeared on television to remind the Afrikaner of his "mission" in Africa. P. W. Botha, Minister of Defense and leader of the National Party in Cape Province, has gone out of his way to declare solemnly that he is not "one of those people who feels despondent about the future."

"People who can stare danger in the eye can also see past the danger into the future," Mr. Botha told an election meeting. He added that Afrikaners who are thinking of quitting South Africa are making a "grave mistake."

"My plea to these people is to stay, join hands with us, and help make South Africa a great and prosperous nation," Mr. Botha said. "This is still the best country in the world to live in."

The most dramatic evidence of the confusion, doubts, and fears among Afrikaners comes from the teeming Transvaal Province, the industrial, commercial, and financial heart of the country, where there has been an unprecedented rush to buy guns since the black townships became restive.

Writing in the important National Party daily mouthpiece, the Transvaler, editor Willem de Klerk said a spirit of capitulation is spreading in South Africa. Those people who are not busy packing their bags are falling head over heels to propose new political solutions while "looking with one eye at the border fence," he wrote.

He said that a "runaway mentality" is to be found among prominent Afrikaners... and that many doctors are taking overseas examinations to prepare themselves to get out.

"These people make me ashamed," Mr. de Klerk said. Attempts are being made to have money deposited in Swiss banks he reported, and there are "wide-eyed conversations" about the black-majority government that was supposed to be coming.

Another National Party paper, Beeld, said it seems as if "the Afrikaner's traditional will to win" and his tenacity in the most difficult circumstances has been lost "somewhere along the road."

Military preparedness, it warned, would not help a nation if it lost the courage of its convictions and its self-confidence. Newspapers and individual columnists have warned that those who "think the gun is the only solution" are misguided.

Dr. de Klerk said he is just as ashamed of those who "are grabbing their rifles" and who think that closing up into a fort and preparing for a final shootout is the only remaining solution.

South Africa needs "political maturity," he said, and the strength to think calmly and logically. It is also necessary for the government to provide a clear perspective on future political development.

## Captain Cook's voyage retraced

By Router

Cape Town

An English family named Cook arrived in Cape Town last Tuesday in a 21-meter (69-foot) schooner in which they are retracing the third and last voyage of discovery of Captain Cook 200 years ago.

Skipper Gordon Cook said he, his wife Mary and children, Susan, Seven, and Jonathan, would be at sea for three years in the schooner Wave Walker, built specially for the 60,000-mile voyage.

"I have always been a great admirer of Captain Cook, who was the world's finest seaman-navigator," he said.

The Yorkshire family sailed from Plymouth, England, by way of Rio de Janeiro following the route Cook took before he was murdered in Hawaii on his return from trying to find a North-West Passage through the Bering Sea.

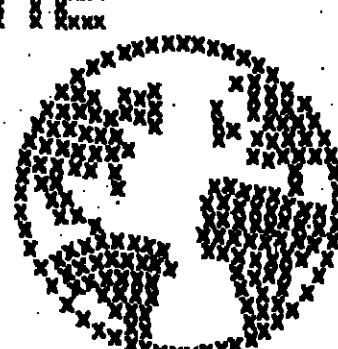
Mr. Cook is not related to his 18th-century namesake.

They will sail on to Australia, New Zealand, Tahiti, Hawaii, San Francisco, Vancouver and Anchorage to Petropavlovsk in eastern Russia, beyond which Captain Cook could not venture because of pack-ice.

The return voyage will be by way of New Guinea and Singapore, with Cape Town the last major port of call before their return to Plymouth.

Mr. Cook said he had a copy of Captain Cook's log of the 1776-1779 voyage and was trying to keep as closely as possible to the itinerary.

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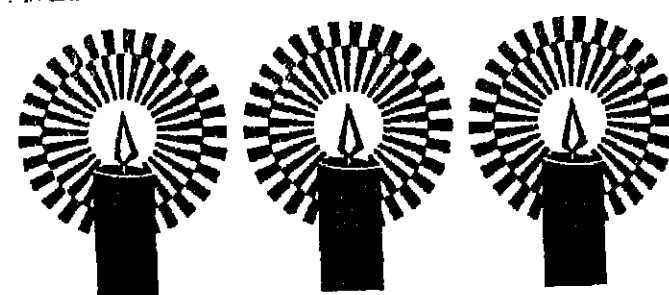
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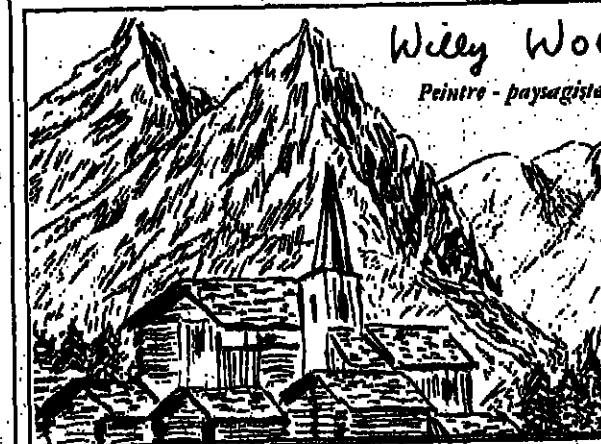
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# Middle East

## Israel rebuffs private talks as PLO rethinks its goals

By Francis Olier  
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The Israeli Government is clearly concerned about the recent meeting in Paris between four well-known Israelis and representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). At a recent Sunday session, the Israeli Cabinet designated Justice Minister Haim Zadok to address the Knesset (Parliament) and condemn all private contacts between Israeli citizens and the PLO.

The Cabinet's decision is an indication of the sensitivities of the present moment as Arab realignments may be under way in the wake of the cease-fire in Lebanon, and as all parties to the Israeli-Arab conflict maneuver for a possible new U.S. Middle East peace initiative once President-Elect Jimmy Carter is installed in the White House.

The Israeli Government's concern is not lessened by the fact that the four Israelis who talked to the PLO in Paris are known doves associated with the Israel-Palestine Peace Council. This has at the most only minority support. In official eyes, the four are seen as attempting to overturn one of the basic tenets of successive Israeli Governments; no negotiations with the PLO.

Of the four, the most highly placed is Jacob Arnon, a former director general of the Finance Ministry and a veteran member of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's Labor Party. Dr. Arnon is currently chairman of the National Electricity Corporation.

Jerusalem

The Israeli Government's position can be summarized thus: Israel would like to negotiate with the Palestinians but only on the basis of mutual recognition. This the PLO refuses to give. Rather, it demands abolition of the Jewish state.

Israel does not share the view of the Arab countries that the PLO is the legitimate representative of the Palestinians. The PLO leaders have never been elected except by themselves, Israel says.

Israel is unimpressed by the PLO's formula for the establishment of a "secular, democratic state" in the whole area of former Palestine - including Israel.

In spite of these arguments, there is a group of Israelis who persistently advocate talks with the PLO. They include, in addition to Dr. Arnon: former Labor Party Secretary General Arie Eliaz; journalist and weekly magazine publisher Uri Avneri; leftist socialist Knesset deputy and representative of the one-man Knesset group Moked Meir Pa'il; and Reserves Gen. Matti Peled.

Advocates of talks with the PLO base their stand on the assumption that the PLO will one day change its negative attitude toward Israel. Some argue that the moment may be at hand now that the civil war in Lebanon has decimated PLO ranks.

Monitor correspondent John Cooley reports from Athens: The PLO is considering holding an often-delayed crucial meeting of its top leadership to examine the future and goals of the Palestinian Arab nationalist movement.

According to information received from several Arab and European capitals, the 187-member Palestine National Council

(PNC) may be convened in Cairo in December or January. It may decide whether and how the PLO could negotiate with Israel at the Geneva peace conference or elsewhere on establishment of a Palestinian state on the Israeli-occupied Jordan West Bank and in the Gaza Strip.

Moderates in the organization, including PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, are reported to feel that Palestinian reverses in the Lebanese civil war and last month's Arab summit decisions aimed at halting that war have now ruled out further pursuit of the PLO's old aim of wiping out the Israeli state and replacing it with a secular one based on Muslim-Jewish-Christian coexistence.

A new PNC meeting would likely lead to a decisive showdown between doves - who may include Mr. Arafat and a majority of the 13-man PLO executive council - and hawks like George Habbash, leader of the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who reject the idea of a Palestinian state coexisting with Israel and hold out for total confrontation with Israel.

Several PLO emissaries met last month in Paris with Israeli representatives of the Israel-Palestine Peace Council, an organization of Israeli doves which has no official status in Israel or backing from the Israeli Government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Before the meeting, retired Israeli Gen. Matti Peled, who took part, said the PLO ought to say loud what it has been whispering in private: that it accepts West Bank state and coexistence with Israel as a solution that the Israeli Government could no longer pretend it detected no peace signals from the PLO.

# Middle East

## Lebanese peace: is Iraq the spoiler?

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Damascus, Syria  
Iraqi pressure against Syria and against Syria's central role in carrying out last month's Arab summit decisions to enforce peace in Lebanon has caused some analysts here to compare Iraq's role with that of North Vietnam in Indo-China.

Iraq, said one close but non-Syrian student of Iraqi policy, could become the North Vietnam of the Middle East, especially if the Lebanese war continues or drags Israel into the fighting there. About 4,000 volunteers of the "People's Army" of Iraq's ruling Baath (Arab socialist) Party are reported fighting with the leftist-Palestinian guerrilla presence in Lebanon.

### Syria's role

"In such a case," this analyst added, "Syria's role as provider of most of the 30,000-man Arab peace-keeping force in Lebanon,

would be more like that of South Vietnam, with the Arab League playing roughly that of the United States in Indo-China before 1974. You might just see a concerted Arab alliance, led by Saudi Arabia and perhaps aided by Iran, to halt Iraq."

Through its opposition to the Arab summit agreements for Lebanon, says Syrian Information Minister Ahmed Iskander Ahmed, the Iraqi regime has isolated itself from the Arabs, "an isolation which it deserves."

Iraqi Foreign Minister Saoudon Hammadi said the Baghdad government objected to the Lebanese agreements because there was no provision for Syrian troop withdrawal - instead, the Syrian presence in Lebanon was strengthened - and no adequate safeguards for the Palestinian guerrilla presence in Lebanon.

### Quarreling neighbors

Syria and Iraq have been quarreling neighbors since the October, 1973, war with Israel,

when Iraqi troops fighting on the Golan Heights were withdrawn quickly from Syria's war of attrition because Iraq did not approve the October cease-fire, nor Syrian President Assad's successful negotiations with U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger for a Syrian-Israeli disengagement accord in May, 1974.

Acute differences over the sharing of Euphrates River water and the ideological quarrel between the rival factions of the Baath Party ruling in Damascus and Baghdad were further aggravated when Iraq stopped pumping oil to Syria last April.

Iraqi troops have concentrated on the Syrian border at various times. Recently Iraqi border posts were closed several times, with Syrian officials speculating that this meant there was fighting between rival Iraqi army factions.

Iraq is held responsible here for various terrorist acts against Syrians and Syrian offices abroad. The fear of Iraqi subversion extends to

Jordan, Syria's partner in a growingly close alliance.

An American businessman who picked up an Iraqi visa at the Iraqi Embassy in Amman, Jordan, recently was stopped outside and interrogated by Jordanian plainclothes police about why he wanted to go to Iraq.

### Power shifting

Arab analysts believe total power in Iraq is passing more and more from the hands of Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and more moderate Army elements into the hands of Vice-President and Baath Party strongman Saddam Hussein al-Takriti.

Despite its growing oil prosperity and preference for Western trade and technology, Iraq on Aug. 14 signed a defense accord with the Soviet Union which, it is believed here, has greatly strengthened the Soviet military position in Iraq, including the granting of full facilities at two Iraqi air bases.



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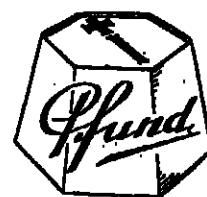
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# United States

## A vexed issue: religion and politics

By Richard M. Harley  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

It might be an impossible task to convince a foreign visitor to the United States — amid all the religious trappings of the 1978 presidential campaign — that American religious freedom is really based upon a separation of church and state.

On one hand some commentators, like columnist Michael Novak, point out that, "religion is not like a section of Time magazine, separated from everything else." Yet this campaign, perhaps more than any in recent history, has brought some religious and civil leaders to their feet, warning that religious appeals by political candidates, both intentional and unintentional, tend to infringe on the very principle of church-state separation on which American religious freedom is based.

### Carter's rise

Political observers carefully watched the rise of a candidate who may have found what one analyst called "a hidden religious power base in American culture which... secular biases prevent many of us from noticing" — referring to Jimmy Carter's attraction of rapidly rising numbers of evangelical Christians (now about 40 million to 45 million).

Commenting on the candidate who openly called himself a "born-again Christian," and unabashedly said "The most important thing in my life is Jesus Christ," journalist David Kucharsky noted in his new book that "no presidential candidate except William Jennings Bryan has been known to talk like that."

While statistics are often difficult to evaluate, Jimmy Carter did, in fact, run much better in primary elections in the "evangelical Christian counties" of such states as Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, than in other counties, according to Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, a Maryland-based nondenominational organization dedicated to church-state separation. However, many observers, say Mr. Carter

himself did not deliberately exploit religion as much as he could have.

The Ford campaign was criticized for apparent appeals to religious groups, such as running a full-page advertisement in Roman Catholic newspapers spelling out the President's views on abortion and aid to education; and for remarks of a campaign aid (reported in Newsweek magazine) that the "combativeness" between Catholics and Southern Baptists might be exploited.

Endorsements or near endorsements from influential religious leaders were plentiful. Thirty-six fundamentalist clergymen approved the President's stand against taxation of church property; a Southern Baptist minister, Dr. W. A. Criswell of Dallas, supported Mr. Ford at a church service; "May the Lord give him strength as he helps us build our Christian institutions."

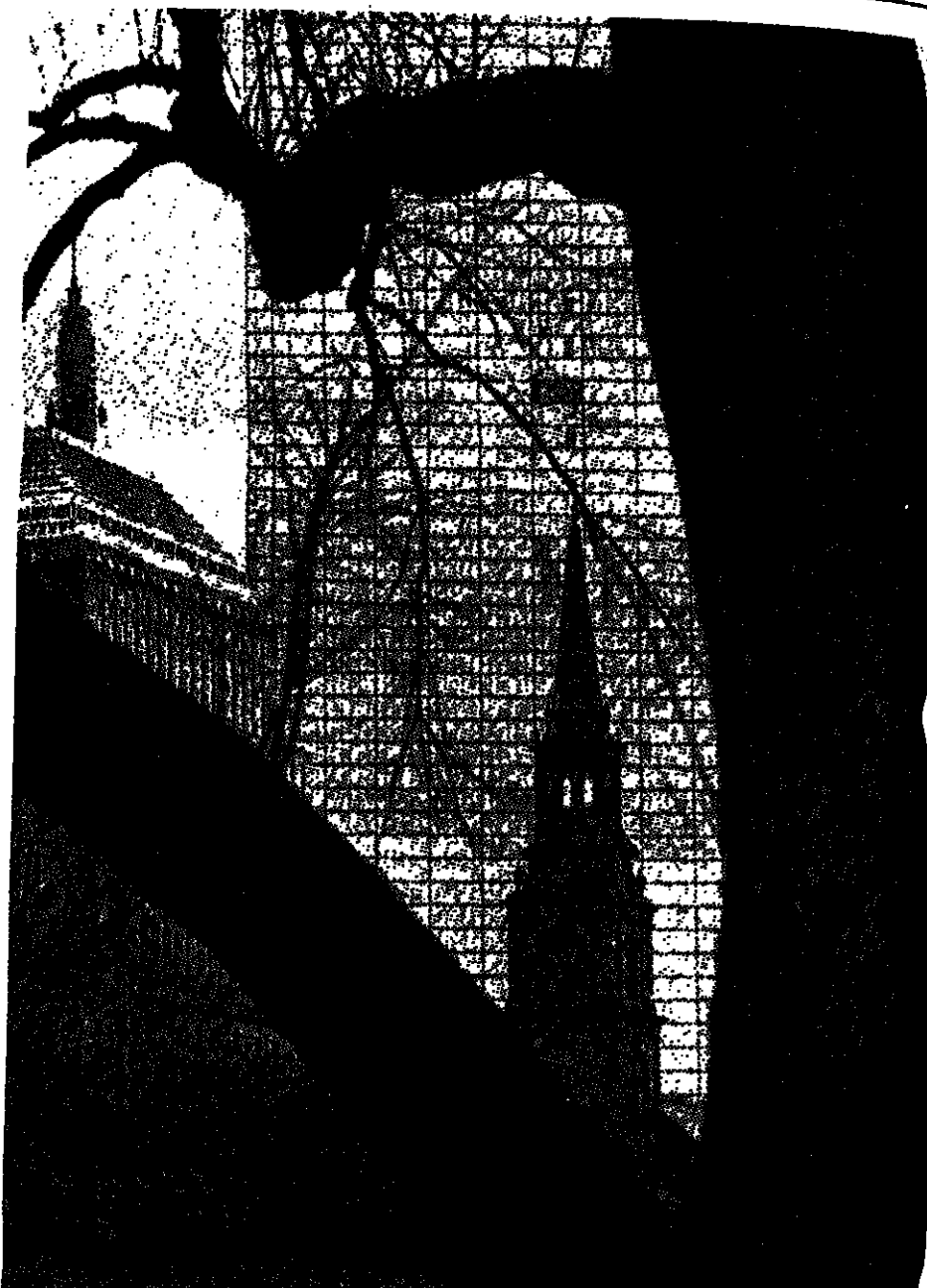
Catholic bishops found the President's views "encouraging" after a White House meeting on Sept. 12 (although they later said they do not endorse candidates); and Catholic Bishop Edward Heald in Buffalo implied support for Mr. Ford in a sermon two days before the election.

### Concern remains

Although the election is over, there still remains among some the heightened concern over both precedents the election may have for future religious influence on political elections, and pressures to bring religious interests into the political arena.

Church newspapers for months have been pressing for close examination of the First Amendment prohibition of government involvement in promotion of particular religions, an amendment still hotly debated — particularly in relation to government aid to education, abortion, and other issues.

Advocates of strict church-state separation, such as Dr. John Swomley Jr., professor of Christian ethics at St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City, are saying strict separation frees religions from government taxation and policies, ensures that church members finance their own programs, and allows churches to practice "prophetic criticism" of government while freeing missionary work at home and



Arlington Street Church, Boston

By a staff photographer

In this land of churches, separation of church and state is jealously guarded

abroad from negative identifications with U.S. Government ideologies.

Others, like the Rev. Irving Blum, professor of Political Science at Marquette University, argue First Amendment separation of church

and state was not intended to be "absolute." an interpretation he says could actually limit freedom — as in excluding needy children of private schools from government aid that benefits public schoolchildren.

## Assurances to minorities

### Jimmy Carter: 'I don't have any strings on me'

By John Dillon  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Plains, Georgia  
Jimmy Carter says he will give heavy representation to blacks and other minority groups in top government positions, including his Cabinet.

"I want to be sure that when I put together my Cabinet... the country will say, 'Well, that's a fair thing to do.' And if there's any unfairness about it, it might be to give minorities more representation than the numerical portion would have."

The President-elect discussed his Cabinet plans in a wide-ranging 75-minute interview with about two dozen newspaper and magazine correspondents who covered his long campaign for the White House.

Among the major points he made:  
• Two debates saved his campaign from almost certain defeat.

• President Ford ran a skillful race that hurt Mr. Carter's image by creating fear of change and depicting Mr. Carter as a big-spending liberal.

• Television news "terribly upset" Mr. Carter during the campaign by emphasizing his mistakes while treating President Ford with deference.

• Despite his narrow election majority, Mr. Carter feels he has a solid mandate for his proposals.

Mr. Carter, dressed in jeans and heavy work boots, talked with reporters in the living room of the Pond House, which he built, for his

mother, Lillian, just west of Plains. He sat in an easy chair with his back to a massive stone fireplace while reporters lounged on a sofa and chairs or sat near Mr. Carter on the floor.

The President-elect appeared to enjoy the exchange. He was obviously more relaxed than he had been in recent, tense weeks of the campaign.

Mr. Carter expressed concern about his image with those who opposed him — especially middle- and upper-income people who think he represents a danger to their interests.

The Ford campaign built up this fear, and Mr. Carter feels it must be alleviated.

Mr. Carter said he was going to happen when Jimmy Carter gets in the White House," he says. He pinpoints the public view: something like this:

"We know what Gerald Ford would have been. He would have kept the boat from rocking. He would have had a basically status-quo attitude. Upward circumstances and let trends run their course."

"But Jimmy Carter is probably going to be more innovative and more dynamic, or aggressive; and we don't know what's going to happen when he gets there."

Mr. Carter says he is going into office with no secret promises to any special interests groups and with a mandate to carry forward his own proposals.

"I don't have any strings on me," he says. Labor unions, big-city mayors, or other special-interest parties cannot expect special treatment. Nor have they asked for it. "I've never been asked in any way, in

directly or indirectly, for a favor from [these groups]. The only exception to that was that I have promised on my own initiative that I would have a strong representation within my administration of the minority groups. But I have never had a national or international labor leader, for instance, mention 14-B [right-to-work laws] to me."

Mr. Carter does feel an obligation — a very wide mandate — to carry out his major proposals such as reorganization and tax reform. Although his popular vote margin was only 51 to 48 percent, this will not divert him from an activist role, he says.

"[Harry S.] Truman didn't get a majority at all," Mr. Carter observes. "And I think [Richard M.] Nixon won his first time with only 43 percent of the votes. And [John F.] Kennedy didn't get a majority."

"We got a very stable majority. From very early in the election night, we had a 51 to 48 [lead]. And that's the way it went all the way across [the country]. We dropped slightly when we reached out into California, but not much."

In numerous states, even where he did not capture a majority of the votes, he won about 40 percent of them, Mr. Carter notes. So there were really few weak spots anywhere.

Mr. Carter also observes that he ran strongly among independents — losing to Mr. Ford among this traditionally Republican-voting group by only 53 to 46 percent.

For Mr. Carter, the most discouraging point of the campaign came after the first debate — which he is considered to have lost. "I was

in the polls was falling fast, and TV news coverage, he says, was "crippling."

Each weekend during the campaign, Mr. Carter says, he reviewed the week's TV news coverage on video recordings made by his staff.

"It used to make me terribly upset. It wasn't that I was being treated unfairly. It was just that I was fair game, and if I made a mistake, that was news."

"Mr. Ford's news was that he came out into the Rose Garden and signed a bill, and he was in charge of things. I was authoritative, very sure of himself, and I was making mistakes."

"That was a period when it looked like everything was going against us in spite of everything that we did. And I have a feeling that had it not been for the debates, that I would have lost."

"I think the debates let the American people be kind of reassured [that] at least Jimmy Carter had some judgment about foreign affairs and defense and all."

As he approaches the presidency, Mr. Carter feels well prepared. His staff is churning out studies on issues which will require early action.

"I would say a 20- or 30-foot shelf of transition materials [is] already prepared with about 50 hours analyzed in depth [and] analysis of every department in government."

"I do not have any trepidation about the future. I feel very dedicated, very sober, very deeply aware of the responsibilities that will be on my shoulder."

# United States

## What the mayors want from Carter

By Richard J. Cattani  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago

The mayors of more than 100 of the country's largest cities met in "emergency session" in Chicago over the weekend to boost the economic and social problems of U.S. urban centers to the top of President-elect Jimmy Carter's action agenda.

Focal points of the mayors' push for attention:

• A new national urban plan. The mayors hope to cash in on Mr. Carter's campaign pledge to reorganize federal government. Nearly 1,000 federal programs now deliver federal aid to local units. This array of services is

often uncoordinated, disjointed, and even harmful to cities, the mayors say.

The mayors hope for some new money. Detroit needs \$50 million to meet a deficit for the next fiscal year. But what the mayors most want is to avoid future, faulty, federal policies — such as federal highway and home mortgage decisions that led many residents to abandon cities after World War II.

• An urban investment bank. It might take a half dozen years — or as long as it took to enact federal revenue sharing — to meet this goal, the mayors concede. But they think it necessary. The bank, which would be modeled after the present World Bank, would make low-interest loans available to businesses which invest in economically distressed cities. Public

funds and public stock offerings would be used to start the bank.

Other proposals made by the mayors — meeting here under the aegis of the U.S. Conference of Mayors — include: federal assumption of welfare and state take-over of local education costs; tax incentives for businesses that locate or expand operations in job-short urban centers; and federal spending to stimulate the economy.

Despite Carter campaign pledges, some mayors are concerned that the former Georgia Governor might exercise a regional bias in his new administration, restricting non-Southern appointments to foreign affairs or "token" labor and urban Cabinet posts.

But the overriding mood of the mayors here is upbeat. For the first time since Vietnam stole attention from urban needs in the late '60s, the country might be in a mood to take up the big cities' cause, they suggest.

Republican as well as Democratic mayors sense a possible good turn ahead for their cities' fortunes. The Republican Mayor's Caucus held its post-election shopping list for Mr. Carter to one item — turning more federal grant programs over to local government control. But privately, they concede that their cities stand to gain more from a Carter administration than they would have from the present one.

The mayors wasted little time before wading into Mr. Carter's transition-thinking. They argued that the income tax cut mentioned by the President-elect as possibly needed to pep up the economy was not the best way to produce jobs. Spending on public service employment produces four times as many jobs as income tax cuts do for each billion dollars spent, the mayors claimed. Anti-recession aid to states and cities yields three times as many jobs, and public works projects twice as many jobs as tax cuts yield, the mayors said.

## Thanksgiving



BY THE PRESIDENT  
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### A PROCLAMATION

Traditionally, Americans have set aside a special day to express their gratitude to the Almighty for the blessings of liberty, peace and plenty that have been bestowed upon a grateful Nation.

The early settlers of this land possessed an unconquerable spirit and a reliance on Divine Providence that remains a part of the American character. That reliance, coupled with a belief in ourselves and a love of individual freedom, has brought this Nation through two centuries of progress and kept us strong.

As we cross the threshold into our third century as a sovereign and independent Nation, it is especially appropriate that we reaffirm our trust in Him and express our gratitude for the unity, freedom and renewed sense of national pride we enjoy today.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, in accord with Section 6103 of Title 5 of the United States Code, do hereby proclaim Thursday, November 23, 1978, as a day of national Thanksgiving. I call upon all Americans to join on that day with their friends and families in homes and places of worship throughout the land to offer thanks for the blessings we enjoy.

Let each of us resolve this Thanksgiving Day to make the coming year one in which our every deed will reflect our constant gratitude to God. Let us set a standard of honor, justice, and charity against which all the years of our third century may be measured.

Let us make this Thanksgiving a truly special one.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-eight, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and first.

— GERALD R. FORD

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# Africa

## Keeping the Rhodesia talks on the tracks

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The name of the game at the Geneva conference on Rhodesia is to keep it going. And the most important fact after two weeks of hesitations, openly voiced suspicions, even threats of breakdown, is that the conference is still on the tracks.

The chairman of the conference, Britain's Ambassador to the United Nations, Ivor Richard, said last Monday he was moderately encouraged by the progress of the talks. "We are in a negotiation," he added. "If people were walking out or something, that would be a different situation. It is proceeding in the somewhat erratic way I thought it would. I really don't see it in crisis terms."

On Mr. Richard's shoulders more than anybody else's rests the responsibility for keeping all the parties — black and white — at the negotiation table until they have agreed on a timetable for early transition of political power in Rhodesia from white to black hands. This is to be done within the framework of what was agreed between U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and the

leaders be met when in southern Africa last September. To complicate things, there are differing versions about what was agreed then.

Mr. Richard was back in Geneva Nov. 9 after an overnight flight to London for consultation with Prime Minister James Callaghan and Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland. Presumably they discussed whether some fresh British initiative might be needed to help give the conference momentum.

Interestingly, while Mr. Richard was back in London for consultation, two top U.S. State Department officials who have been helping from the wings to keep the Geneva talks going were back in Washington for presumably parallel consultations with Dr. Kissinger. The two are Assistant Secretaries of State William Schaufele and John Reinhardt.

The immediate hitch in Geneva is over the proposed date for independence for Rhodesia under a black majority government. Rhodesia's Prime Minister and white-minority leader, Ian Smith, says Dr. Kissinger agreed there should be an interim period of two years before independence. He reiterated that view in an interview

in the Rhodesian Herald last Tuesday. But perhaps significantly his accompanying words seemed to leave the door open for a shorter period.

The African nationalists at Geneva — who believe that independence under a black government is long overdue — say two years is far too long; they press for independence after at most a year.

Searching for agreement on a compromise, conference chairman Richard has proposed March, 1978, as the target date for independence. Both blacks and whites have rejected this. Mr. Richard has privately met the black objections by saying that once a target date had been agreed, there is no reason why successful momentum toward independence should not automatically advance the date.

Because of the stalling of the talks on a date for inde-



Opening of Geneva conference

AP photo

Will the gentlemen stay seated?

pendence, there have been suggestions that either the British Foreign Secretary or the U.S. Secretary of State should personally fly to Geneva to rescue the conference from collapse. But Mr. Richard's remarks in London implied that any such point had not yet been reached. In any case, it is unlikely that either the British or U.S. governments would play the Crosland or Kissinger cards respectively except as a measure of last resort much further down the line.

Meanwhile both blacks and whites continue to put pressure on the Geneva conference from outside. The African nationalists pursue their

guerrilla activities in Rhodesia itself. The Rhodesian security forces strike back.

Prime Minister Smith, back in Rhodesia after attending the Geneva conference opening, says he will return to Geneva only when there is something to return for — and leaves behind as his conference spokesman one of his Cabinet ministers most abrasive about Africans. On the black side this is balanced by the four African presidents, patrons of black Rhodesian nationalism, saying they believe Rhodesian independence can come only through "armed struggle" — that is, presumably, if Geneva fails.

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# Australia

## Rare birds slip from Australia under smugglers wings

By Ronald Vickers  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia

Rare Australian birds and reptiles are being smuggled out of the country at an alarming rate to be sold to collectors in the United States and Europe.

A parliamentary committee set up to investigate allegations of an illicit trade in native fauna reported recently that the multimillion dollar racket is controlled by criminal syndicates using light aircraft, yachts, and small craft to smuggle the specimens out of Australia.

According to the committee's report, 80 percent of the smuggled birds die en route, but most reptiles survive the journey.

Birds often are drugged and confined in cramped, almost airless spaces for concealment, while reptiles are quiet and can survive for weeks without food or water. Many small reptiles are smuggled out by airmail, concealed in newspapers and wrapped in plastic bags.

Despite the high mortality rate of the birds, the racket is still profitable for smugglers because collectors are willing to pay high prices.

A matched breeding pair of Golden Shoulder parrots sells for \$10,000 Australian (U.S. \$12,500). One courier was recently caught with 14 parrots in his possession, reportedly concealed in an overcoat. The birds had a retail value of \$27,000 Australian (U.S. \$34,000), but the smuggler was only fined \$1,740 (U.S. \$2,200).

The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds estimates that 5 million birds a year are smuggled through Heathrow Airport in London — and that many times that number do not survive the trip.

The parliamentary committee's report also confirms what Australian officials had suspected for some time — that some of the exported fauna are sent in exchange for drugs.

The vast expanse of uninhabited land in northern Australia and the large number of deserted airstrips — only 50 of the 870 airstrips in the northernmost section of the continent are used regularly for commercial flights — make it almost impossible for police or cus-



toms personnel to keep up with the illegal trade.

Ships can sail north from unpatrolled beaches with a minimal risk of intervention at either the Australian or Asian end of the journey. Illegal immigrants, it was found, are

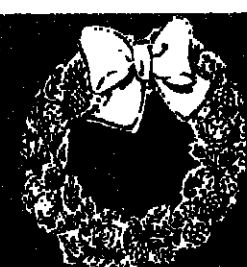
brought back on the return trip by one of the syndicates involved.

On Oct. 13 fines totaling \$3,117 (U.S. \$3,900) were levied against four men in Sydney for smuggling native birds to New Zealand. The court was told that cockatoos, galahs, parakeets, and other parrots were lowered over the side of a sloop to evade customs inspection.

Earlier this year, two Australians, a New Zealander, and a U.S. citizen were arraigned before a Los Angeles magistrate on charges of smuggling 47 cockatoos and parakeets worth \$50,000 (U.S. \$62,500) into the United States.

These cases, however, probably represent only the tip of the iceberg. Most smuggling trips are thought to be successful, and unless law-enforcement measures improve, there are warnings that some unique Australian species, already endangered, soon will be extinct.

In an effort to stem smugglers' operations, the parliamentary committee has recommended that common species be exported without limitation and that the Bureau of Customs be provided with aircraft and patrol boats to step up measures against smuggling of rare species.



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GREETINGS FROM

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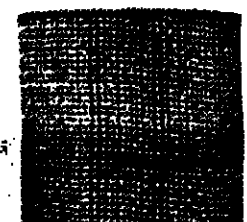
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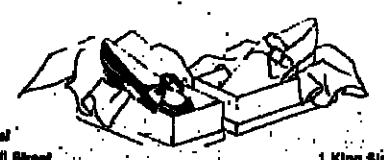
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CHRISTMAS  
GREETINGS FROM

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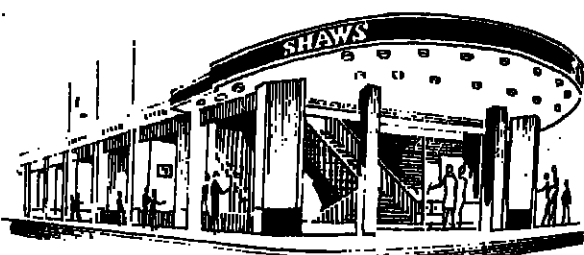
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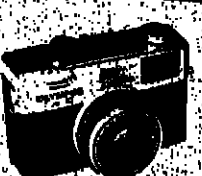
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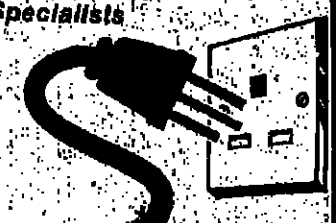
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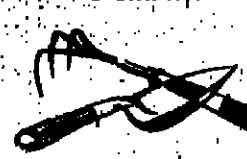


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# environment

## Mankind's distant relatives in trouble

By Louise Sweeney  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
"King Kong" comes roaring back to the screen this year in an update of the old classic, but few Kong fans realize that the real thing can't be brought back so easily.

Kong is one of a species known in scientific Latin as *Gorilla gorilla*. And *Gorilla gorilla* is one of 84 primates listed as either endangered or threatened by the Department of the Interior. The newest 20 names on the list, just released, include 12 endangered species, 14 threatened. They run from the Lesser Slow Loris to the Black Colobus and the Cotton Top Marmoset, from Asia to Africa and Latin America.

In Indo-China, for instance, as a result of extensive bombing and defoliation during the war, the Francois's Leaf Monkey has all but disappeared. John Paradiso, acting chief officer of endangered species at Interior, points out that monkeys depend on leaves for food as well as protection, and that heavy defoliation which stripped the leaves from trees left them vulnerable to starvation and predators. Bombs, of course, killed them more quickly.

A report on the situation says that the Francois's Leaf Monkey "may still exist but no evidence is available" to prove it.

Another Interior spokesman, press officer Patrick McGarvey, says that three other species are on the threatened list. They are the Lesser Slow Loris, the Tonkin Snub-Nosed Monkey, and the Stump-tailed Macaque.

Mr. McGarvey also mentions a little known but perhaps devastating bit of monkey business

in Indo-China. He says U.S. armed forces used an acoustical sensing device the size of a baseball in the Ho Chi Minh Trail area. The devices which reacted to any sort of disturbance were dropped by aircraft into areas of suspected heavy infiltration to record troop movements.

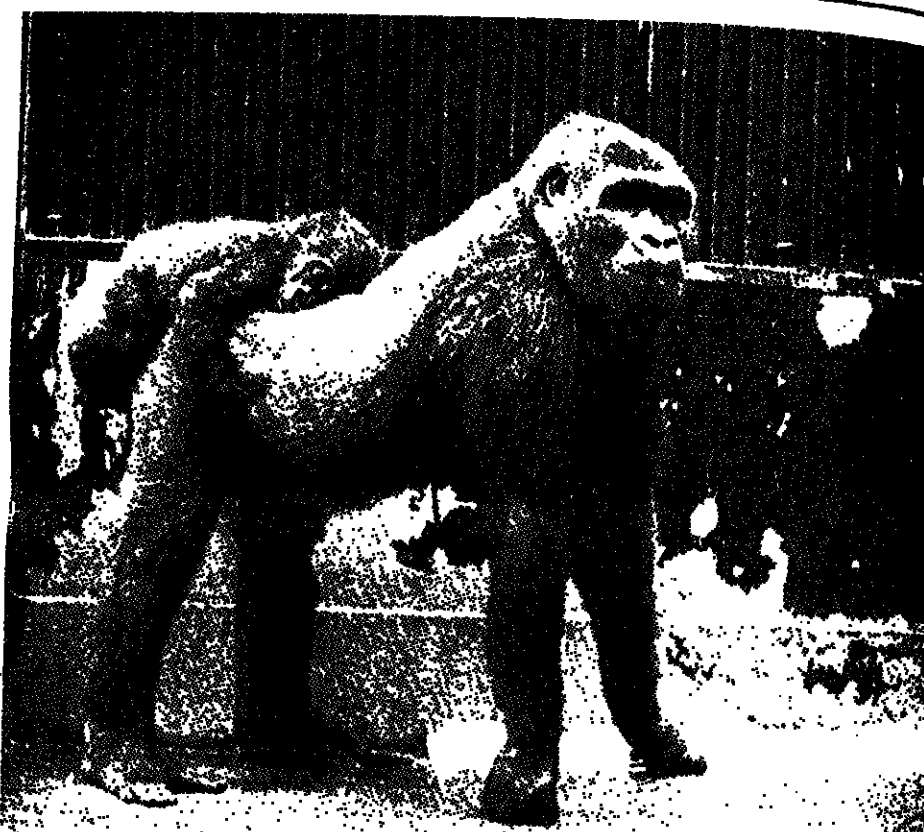
The monkeys, it seemed, just picked them up and played with them, tossing them back and forth in the rain forests and inadvertently registering whole divisions of nonexistent troops to those scanning the devices by remote control.

In another area of the world, there is a species of primate which hasn't yet made it on the list but which appears to be threatened by man in a quite different way. It is the squirrel monkey, a resident of the river area near Quito, Ecuador.

Squirrel monkeys are being snapped up for biomedical research at the rate of 25,000 a year — 250,000 perished between 1962 and 1971, the last year for which statistics are available.

When the Interior Department indicated that it was considering putting the squirrel monkey on the threatened or endangered lists, such an onslaught of protest letters from biomedical researchers landed at Interior, that the matter was suspended pending further investigation.

Actually it doesn't take much to threaten or endanger a species. "Every one of the primates on the list has suffered because of habitat problems," says Mr. Paradiso. The loss of forests because of farming and logging has made life tough for five Latin American primates: the Cotton Top Marmoset, Pied Tamarin, and Yellow-Tailed Woolly Monkey (all endangered) as well as the White-Footed Tamarin and Lazy Howler Monkey (threatened).



Mother and baby gorilla in New York zoo

By a staff photographer

A species threatened — by human devastation

The 11 African primates in trouble are threatened mainly by logging and hunting. (Mr. Paradiso notes that roost chimpanzee is common in western and central Africa, where that species is threatened.)

Zoological displays, agriculture, settlement, and scientific research are other reasons why such species as the White-Collared Mangabey,

the Golada Baboon, and the Mandrill find life perilous.

Of the 10 Asian primates on the threatened or endangered lists, the leveling of forests for coconut, teak, tea, and rubber plantations and biomedical research were devastating for species like the Philippine Tarsier, Formosan Rock Macaque, and Purple-Faced Langur.



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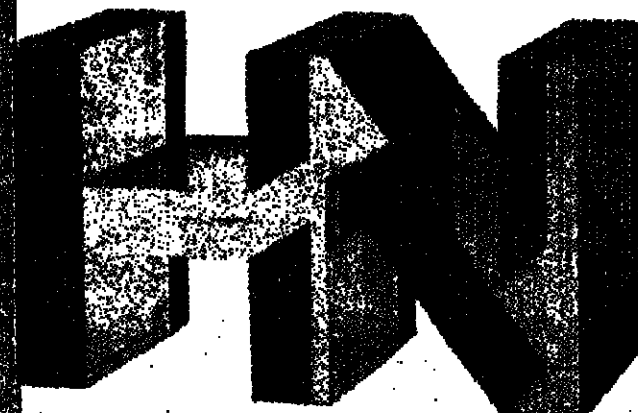
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By Diana Loercher

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor, New York

To write his latest book "Adolf Hitler" (Doubleday), historian John Toland interviewed more than 150 people who were close to Hitler, consulted previously unknown or unavailable documents, and unearthed buried information and photographs that replace old myths with hard facts.

The Pulitzer Prize-winning author ("The Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire, 1936-45") has laced his hefty, 1,035-page tome with personal and political, major and minor, revelations about the man whom he describes in the first sentence of his book as "probably the greatest mover and shaker of the twentieth century."

A sampling:

- Hitler was treated by a psychiatrist for hysterical blindness during World War I.
- Despite his previous denials, Albert Speer knew about "the final solution."

- Hitler feared one of his grandparents was Jewish and carefully worded the Nuremberg Laws to protect himself from this contingency.
- Konrad Morgan, an SS judge whom Mr. Toland interviewed in Germany and considers "the hero of my book," discovered the "killing camps" in Poland, where the mass extermination of the Jews took place, and succeeded in closing five camps and bringing 800 cases of murder and corruption to trial.

- Because the news was leaking out, Heinrich Himmler made "secret speeches" to the Wehrmacht generals in 1943 telling them about the killing of the Jews so as to involve them. Within a short time the military, economic, and civil branches of the government — all except the diplomatic corps — knew about the killing camps in Poland.
- Hitler was the first head of state to promote modern urban planning and anti-pollution devices in cities.

The feisty, loquacious Mr. Toland, whose enthusiasm for historical accuracy approaches that of a bloodhound on the scent, avoids sensationalism and enjoys "putting pins in balloons." For example, Hitler was neither a house painter nor a sexual deviant. Mr. Toland's favorite debunked myth:

"There's a German idiom, 'chewing the carpet,' which means the same as our 'crawling the walls.' Now when we say Nixon was crawling the walls, he wasn't really, but our reporters and even historians printed that Hitler literally chewed the carpet. The guy was mad, yes, but he didn't chew carpets."

#### 'Ordinary, uninteresting boy'

In his book Mr. Toland attempts to demystify Hitler and understand the man as a historical phenomenon. "Too many people treat him as a joke like Charlie Chaplin did, and that attitude is dangerous. Or if you treat him as a monster it's also like a movie, and you don't believe it. I've tried to replace the cartoon 'evil monster' with a human being makes it only more horrible."

It is apparent Hitler intrigues Mr. Toland, as he does most of us, not because he was an "evil monster" but because he was an insane genius. It was apparent during



Historian John Willard Toland, whose latest book is titled *Adolf Hitler*, studied at Yale and at Williams College. His books include "The Last Hundred Days," "Battle of the Bulge," and "The Rising Sun." He won Overseas Press Club awards in 1967 and 1970 and the Pulitzer Prize for non-fiction in 1970. He resides in Danbury, Connecticut.

Interview that Mr. Toland felt quite ambivalent about Hitler, admiring him on the one hand and loathing him on the other.

The author continued animatedly, "I didn't think he was insane at first. I've written several books about Germany, and I've seen the way he acted at meetings with diplomats and, my gosh, he was so clever. He outmaneuvered all of them. He won all of Europe either by diplomacy or by military means, and the first victories were his, not his generals' . . . He could be charming and witty; he had a photographic memory . . . and was one of the greatest orators of all time."

#### Hitler's two drives

But as he progressed with the book Mr. Toland became convinced Hitler was insane and that his anti-Semitism was at the root of his problem. "He had two drives," Mr. Toland said. "One was that he believed his mission in life was to lead Germany back to her former glory and to regain all the Eastern territories lost during World War I. Number

two he believed it was his duty from God to destroy the Jews."

In which Hitler presented his views on the Jews, a book published in 1928, is dismissed by most because it's dull. "They don't know the German language, where you say one thing and mean another. That now he's talking about eliminating the Jews."

And states emphatically in the foreword to his book "I had no intention of writing a book. I was doing good makes him such a more humane and fascinating figure. Mr. Toland aptly describes the same paragraph a character in a novel by Greene who observes, 'The greatest saints have more than a normal capacity for evil, and vicious men have sometimes narrowly evaded

#### War tapes

land claims his book has no thesis and that his customs were reached during and after the writing. He, though he pretends to be neither psychiatrist nor historian, his discoveries about Hitler have in fact to agree with Rudolph Binion's theory that the painful death of Hitler's mother from cancer was treated by a Jewish doctor with his virulent zionism.

land's approach to history is that of an inquirer. A firm believer in legwork, he traced secretaries, doctors, chauffeurs, military and civilian leaders, members of the Hitler, Rohm, Ribbentrop, Hess, and Goering families. He gained their confidence and drew from them. In addition to the fresh material from other historians and government sources, the author's biography of Hitler, as compared with Bullock's "Hitler: A Study in Tyranny" or Willard's "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich" is a book found these people and persuaded them to

circle is never really known till afterwards Toland said. "And of course in those days these didn't have tapes. I happened to get them at the future days. That's why I have put my tapes in my of Congress. . . . The tapes will be made available as I can arrange it to the satisfaction of the

and is adamant about checking sources, never being confident, checking his facts, allowing his

sources to make corrections, and presenting all sides of an issue. A man who clearly enjoys being interviewed for a change, Mr. Toland discusses his method with almost as much excitement as his subject.

He explained his thrust was to "find out everything and put it down. I've been criticized by some people, especially the intellectuals, because I write without thesis. . . . I have a Japanese ideograph over my desk, and I look at it often. It says 'enlarge your mind.' I try to make my mind just a receptacle so that I don't let my prejudices and myself come into my writing. A lot of people don't like that. They like an author to lead them on. I don't. I believe it's my duty to tell you everything and let you draw your own conclusions. . . . I keep my opinions to a minimum."

#### 'Stab in the back' theory

Despite the objective stance of his book, Mr. Toland does of course have his own opinions about Hitler and the Germans. He partly attributes Hitler's rise to power to Germany's defeat in World War I.

"This great political appeal," said Mr. Toland, "was the 'stab in the back' theory that Germans lost World War I not because of the military but because the strikers, the Communists, and the Jews back home had stabbed them in the back. . . . If it hadn't been for that state of mind Hitler couldn't have seized upon it. This was a nation thrown down to the bottom, a strong, proud, intelligent, hard-working people, and this madman just happened to get control of the world. It was a tremendous stroke of ill luck for the world."

"I don't think that anyone but Hitler could have done it. I've never seen in my study of history where one man really moved history. . . . If there had not been Hitler there would not have been a Nazi party, there never would have been a final solution, there never would have been a war, I believe. The chances of this ever happening were one in a trillion trillion. And the fact that this one gifted madman should come into power at the same time that he had the possibility of eliminating all these people and of changing the world — the odds against it are unbelievable."

Mr. Toland preferred not to comment directly on similarities between Hitler's regime and on recent political events in the U.S., but he did go so far as to say, "I found some rather startling parallels between Hitler's inner circle and Nixon's, between the supreme patriots who are devoted completely to their chief and believe the end justifies the means. . . . Both Hitler and Nixon knew that they were right for the country and that the country absolutely depended on them so anything they did was justified. . . ."

"I don't think that a great man has to be ruthless. This has been a fallacy in American policy that ruthlessness is a must. Our presidents have been too powerful in the first place. I think we should have more of a chairman type. The trouble is that this whole myth about power corrupting is correct. I've seen it happen to such nice people. . . . There's a lurking Nazi in all of us. There's a lurking Hitler in the world. . . . To me the book is a cautionary tale because . . . so many people have forgotten Hitler."



With Goering during the war



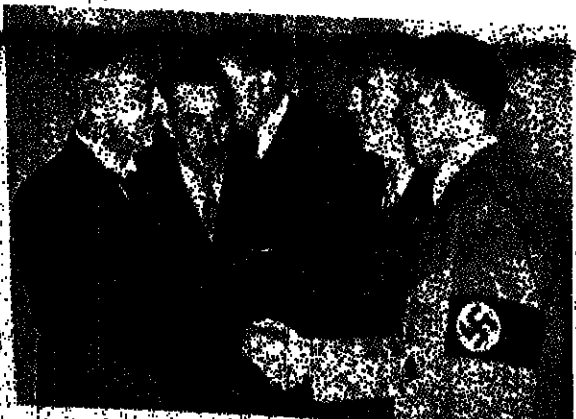
With Il Duque, Benito Mussolini  
Photos by Wide World Photos, Alex Gollay, AP, and Keystone.

# HITLER

## His latest biography and its author, John Toland



Leaving Landsberg Prison, 1924



Sealing Munich Pact with Chamberlain, 1938

## Best view to date of Hitler's life

Adolf Hitler, by John Toland. New York: Doubleday & Co. 1,035 pp. \$14.95.

By Joseph G. Harrison

We shall never have a definitive biography of Adolf Hitler. Absolutely first-rate ones, yes (of which John Toland's is an admirable and outstanding example). But definitive, no. Hitler was too inextricably complex, too confusingly contradictory, too soaringly visionary at one moment and appallingly ruthless at the next — in short, too overwhelmingly deviant from the human norm ever to be satisfactorily pinned down by pen.

The best we can look for is a gradual accumulation of judgments and reports which can help us put Hitler and the National Socialist movement in a little clearer and deeper perspective in the hope that mankind can learn thereby.

Almost a century before Hitler assumed power in 1933 the sensitive German-Jewish poet Heinrich Heine wrote: "German thunder is truly German; it takes its time. But it will come, and when it crashes it will crash as nothing in history crashed before. . . . A drama will be performed which will make the French Revolution seem like a pretty idyll. . . . Never doubt it, the hour will come."

When it came it indeed was the single greatest crashing in world history. Not the decline of the Roman Empire, not the invasion of the Huns, not the devastation of the 14th century's Black Death can be compared with the continents-convulsing effects wrought by that one disastrously warped but extreme genius. For, never doubt, Adolf Hitler was an evil genius, however much we loathe the burden of his deeds. Speaking of the qualities which gave Hitler "the mastery of all discussions," an Oxford-educated German statesman who knew him well spoke of "his infallible memory, which enabled him to answer with the utmost precision questions on the remotest problems under consideration; his presence of mind in discussions; the clarity with which he could reduce the most intricate question to a simple — sometimes too simple — formula; his skill in summing up concisely the results of a long debate; and his cleverness in approaching a well-known and long-discussed problem from a new angle."

To those qualities were added an undefeatable will, mesmeric oratorical skill, the power to shut out all concepts which conflicted with his own, an almost uncanny ability to perceive the mental state of an individual or a multitude, and a personal magnetism dominating almost all who met with him. Of him the well-known and liberal American economist J. Kenneth Galbraith said as late as 1973, "Hitler also anticipated modern economic policy." And we know that as far back as 1924 Hitler had said that an effective way to cut unemployment would be to construct a national road network and mass-manufacture a small economical car, ideas which resulted in Germany's famous autobahns and the Volkswagen.

Patriotism has been termed "the last refuge of scoundrels," but in Hitler's case it was the first. In his twenties as a soldier in the German Army, his colonel wrote of him: "There was no circumstance or situation that would have prevented him from volunteering for the most difficult, arduous and dangerous tasks and he was always ready to sacrifice life and tranquility for his Fatherland and for others." For it was the perversion of these otherwise admirable qualities which led him to the twisted malign convictions that Germany had the right to expand at its neighbor's expense and that "the Jew lives and serves his own law but never that of the people or the nation where he has become a citizen."

Although more than 30 years have passed since Hitler committed suicide in his Berlin bunker, the world owes it to its own safety and sense of decency to try to understand how such a scourge as Nazism could have fallen upon mankind. John Toland's biography is the best such source of information and judgment we have had to date. Dispassionate in spirit, exhaustive in detail (it runs to some 450,000 words), smoothly readable, it spreads Hitler's life, his actions, his words before one, leaving it to the reader to draw his own conclusions. Thus the book is not a diatribe — beyond the more than sufficient condemnation which stem from Hitler's own deeds and words. Nor does the author avail himself of the almost limitless possibilities for psychological and pathological judgment. Yet the material is there in abundance for whoever wishes to probe more deeply into Hitler's inner mental recesses.

Joseph Harrison served as managing editor and chief editorial writer during a Monitor career spanning four decades.



# defense

## Peru to buy Soviet jets

By James Nelson (Goodsell)  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Peru's decision to acquire 38 sophisticated Soviet jet fighter-bombers is viewed with alarm in Latin American circles.

Washington also has some doubts about the deal, which would be the first sale of Soviet combat aircraft in Latin America, other than to Cuba. (Peru has had some Soviet helicopters as well as Soviet tanks in its arsenal for five or six years.)

Moreover, there is concern in Washington over a report that Cuban military personnel soon may be dispatched to Peru to help train Peruvians in the use of these aircraft.

Although the details are elusive and the Peruvian Government in Lima is saying little about the deal, the purchase raises the prospect of a growing arms race along South America's west coast.

It also complicates political relations between Peru and its neighbors, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, and Ecuador.

Peru has long had border problems with Chile; it still harbors a grudge against its

southern neighbor for the defeat it suffered in the War of the Pacific in the 1870s.

To the east, Brazil, which has increasingly taken a lead in Latin American political and economic developments, has doubts about the Peruvian decision to acquire the adjustable-wing Sukhoi-22.

"The shadow of Soviet wings over the Andes is not a very positive prospect," Rio de Janeiro's Jornal do Brasil editorialized last month. A paper that often reflects Brazilian Government viewpoints, the Rio daily added: "At the very least, it is disquieting."

According to aviation circles in Washington and London, Peru decided to buy the Soviet planes after the United States delayed a decision on a Peruvian request to acquire Northrop F-5 jets.

Chile purchased 18 of these jets from the U.S. in 1975. Peru immediately began negotiations to acquire the planes, but the Pentagon delayed approval, and the Peruvian Government decided to accept the Soviet planes on what Peruvian sources say were favorable long-term payment conditions. The cost is estimated at \$250 million.

The Sukhoi-22 is a swing-wing craft that can fly almost twice the speed of sound.

## More U.S. jets to be based on European soil

By Dana Adams Schmidt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

In stepping up the capability of its jet-fighter force in Europe by about a third, the United States is seen to be carrying out a long-expected shift in strength from Southeast Asia to Europe.

The move was announced by the Pentagon as an effort to offset military improvements made by Warsaw Pact nations.

But the Defense Department action has distressed members of the arms-control community. Officials expressed the belief that this across-the-board increase in U.S. strength would make even more difficult the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction negotiations in Central Europe.

The Pentagon says the move was designed to counter the introduction of Soviet MIG-23 interceptors as well as to be "in keeping with the congressional mandate" to increase U.S. combat capability in Europe.

The net U.S. increase is 84 aircraft and 3,000

men. This would amount to approximately a 10 percent increase in the number of jets deployed for the defense of Europe, making total of nearly 550. But the actual increase in capability is far greater because the F-15, the latest U.S. interceptor, considered equal to superior to all Soviet counterparts — will be introduced to Europe for the first time.

The F-15s will be the very latest, now from the production line to the 38th Tactical Fighter Wing at Hittsburg in West Germany, gliding in the spring and continuing as they come available for the rest of the year.

The F-15s will displace F-4s which will be moved to other bases in Germany.

The two-engine F-15 is a defensive fighter capable of flying at mach 2.5 speed and carrying cannon and missiles. More surprising, the Russians may be the additional wing of F-111s from Mountain Home Air Force Base in Idaho to the Royal Air Force Base at Lakenheath, England.

By moving this wing of 72 to England, United States will have committed itself to all its F-111s to Europe. These are large aircraft capable of flying 1,600 miles and thereby able to cover all Soviet known Eastern Europe. The Russians regard the bomber although the United States classifies as a jet fighter.

While the F-15s and F-111s are being turned from England to the United States, all these movements are expected to be completed by the end of 1977, the Pentagon said.

Although the official announcement of deployment of the F-15s to Europe will be in the spring, a spokesman later said the movements are expected in January.

## Cruise missile: for bargaining or for fighting?

By Dana Adams Schmidt  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington State and Defense Department officials are wrestling with the question of whether to develop the long-range cruise missile into a major weapon.

Some, like Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, think the U.S. would be wise — if it can — to trade off limitations on the cruise missile

against limitations on the Soviet Backfire bomber. They question the wisdom of confronting the Soviet Union with yet another technological challenge. Much as the Russians are conquering the problem of the MIRV, the missile that divides to hit multiple targets, Soviet scientists will in time conquer the problem of the cruise missile — and the U.S. may then find itself highly vulnerable, it is argued.


But many in the Air Force and Navy are enthusiastic about the cruise missile development, and both services are working hard on

their versions of this extraordinarily cheap and accurate weapon. The weapons should be operational by the early 1980s, five to 15 years ahead of the Soviet Union.

This is possible because President Ford and Party Leader Leonid Brezhnev did not include the cruise missile in their Vladivostok agreement. It is not publicly known whether this was the result of oversight, because so little was known about the status of the U.S. weapon, or because the problem seemed so intractable.

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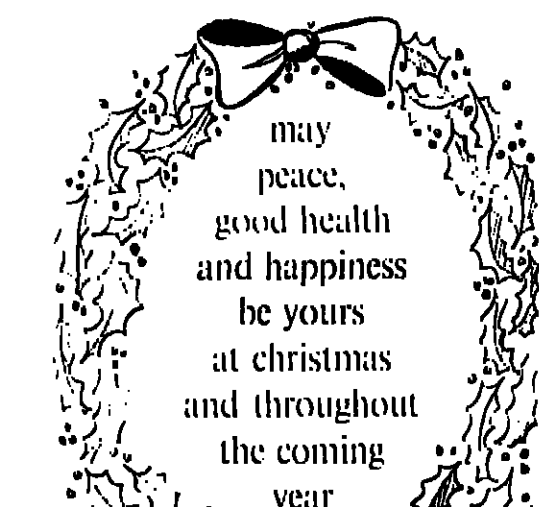


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## children



'This great shadow makes me feel like the King of the Jungle... What a fine lion I am'

## Little Lion's Shadow

(To be read aloud with proper roars, cackles, and sighs)

"What a very great lion I must be to have such a long shadow," said Little Lion one sunny morning. (Roar, roar)

"Polly wants a cracker, Polly wants a cracker, and you have a fine shadow, indeed," shrieked Little Lion's old friend, Polly Parrot. (Cackle, cackle)

"This great shadow makes me feel like the King of the Jungle, famous for my mighty roar (Roar), a great guardian of the path. (Roar) What a fine lion I am," (Roar, roar) said Little Lion, watching his shadow as it followed along behind him.

"I never said you weren't," shrieked his old friend, Polly.

"And besides, by casting such a fine shadow, every one will (Roar) remember the name of Little Lion," roared Little Lion. (Roar, roar)

"Polly wants a cracker because lunch-time will be soon, (Cackle) soon, soon, soon," Polly declared.

"Lunch always comes at noon-time, Polly, so it won't be long (Roar)," said Little Lion.

"Parrot wants lunch and a cracker," Polly cackled.

"Wow!" exclaimed Little Lion without roaring. (Sigh) "Lunch can't last long today, Polly. Look at my shadow, it's getting shorter and shorter as we get hungrier and hungrier." (Sigh)

"Polly wants a cracker with lunch, not

just for lunch, and I guess the sun makes long noons and short shadows," said Polly, trying to look wise and something more than just hungry. (Sigh)

"But what will people think of me with hardly any shadow?" asked Little Lion. (Sigh, sigh)

"They will like you just as much because, after all, your roar is you, your shaggy mane is you, and certainly (Cackle) your tail is you," answered Polly.

"But I do like my shadow to be long," sighed Little Lion without a roar. (Sigh, sigh)

"You will get your shadow back after lunch; just wait and see," said Polly with assurance.

"You don't think my friends will miss my wandering shadow?" asked Little Lion, as his shadow started to grow long again.

"We are what we are whichever way our shadows go. Mine even flies and bounces over rooftops," chirped Polly. (Cackle, cackle)

"Here is a whole box of crackers," roared Little Lion. (Roar, roar) "And thanks for being such a comforting friend."

"Thank you," said Polly. "Besides, shadows aren't very reliable on cloudy days, anyway." (Cackle, cackle)

— Gene Laughlin

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COMPANIES COURT NO: 003369 of 1976  
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and  
re THE COMPANIES ACT, 1948  
to customers and creditors of the above company pursuant to the directions of the court

notice is hereby given as follows:—  
1. The liquidators of the company, which is insolvent and unable to honour its contracts to transport, deliver or store customers' goods, have applied to the court for orders to transport, deliver or store such goods which customers have not collected themselves through their agents or through the liquidators' agents, Messrs. Expediting and Transit Limited of Seven Seas House, Woodside Avenue, Enfield, Hants. The court has fixed 2.15 p.m. on the 23rd November, 1976, at Room 301, Thomas More Building, Royal Courts of Justice, Strand, London, W.C.2, England for the hearing of the liquidators' application.

2. The court has given leave to all customers of the company claiming to own such goods to attend or be represented at such hearing and file evidence, stating any such customer's claim to the court at any time to determine (inter alia) any question in respect of any goods of customers in the company's warehouse and in particular in respect of the sale thereof by the liquidators. Any customer of the company wishing to obtain goods held for delivery or storage by the company and/or to oppose any order for the sale thereof should file a claim with the court.

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(3) The liquidators' solicitors, Messrs. Stagglers, Palmer of 81 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1, England.

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## sports

## New hopes for Montreal's Olympic complex

By Victor A. Schlich  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Montreal  
Quebec's provincial government is working to convert an unfinished \$1.5 billion sports complex into something more than a concrete curiosity now that the 21st Olympics are history.

Foremost among the tasks facing the provincial Olympics Board are completion of an 18-story tower that will soar skyward over the swimming and diving hall, and devising ways to meet current operating expenses. Work on the tower was halted to permit the Olympic Games to go on as scheduled.

Construction has resumed but, said communications director Jean Riendeau, "it will be two years before it is finished." When it is, the tower will house a revolving restaurant at

the top, several floors of shops, and a variety of sports oriented facilities.

Some money is coming in now thanks to conducted tours for the public through the three-building sports complex — velodrome, swimming hall and the huge \$788-million track and field stadium. There also are tours through the Olympic Village where athletes were housed.

During September, weekday crowds averaged 2,000. Weekends, the count was 3,500 to 4,000 per day. Double that was recorded during the summer, while even in the cooler October weather the crowds averaged from 1,000 to 2,000.

But the big money needed to cover expenses will have to come from professional sports such as football, baseball, tennis, and anything else which draws big crowds.

The Montreal Alouettes of the Canadian Football League have agreed to finish out their

remaining home schedule at the stadium this year, as well as all of the 1977 CFL home schedule. The first CFL game in the stadium, on Sept. 26, broke all records for a Canadian sports event.

A highly partisan crowd of 68,505 watched the Alouettes trounce the Ottawa Rough Riders, easily topping the previous record attendance set in Toronto. Not bad for a stadium seating 55,000 in permanent seats. Temporary seats and standing room made up the difference.

Two more games were played at the stadium in October, drawing crowds of 50,000 and 52,000 respectively, while the fourth and final home game of the season this past weekend also attracted more than 50,000 fans.

For the past four months the Board's Maurice Christean, director of operations, has been negotiating with the Montreal Expos about

moving their National League team into the stadium next year.

The oval's inner surface is quite versatile. By utilizing various artificial surfaces it can easily be converted into a tennis court or set up for basketball. Bobby Riggs gave a tennis exhibition there this fall.

Then there is the huge swimming hall with its two pools (one of them a practice pool for Olympians) plus the diving area.

In spite of the many plans for future use of the vast sports complex, it seems quite obvious that any revenue derived from its use will be minor compared with the \$1.5 billion spent on construction.

This doesn't bother the Olympics Board, however. Notes Riendeau, "We don't expect to make a profit, but we will be happy to break even."

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# financial

## W. Germany: the plight of the small businessman

By David Mutch  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Karl Marx theorized that small- and medium-sized businesses would be ground out of existence by the tendency of capital to concentrate in large firms that would monopolize and centralize the means of production and employment.

Recent research by the Institute for Research for Medium and Small Business, shows smaller firms are experiencing a squeeze in the West German marketplace.

The clearest sign of this is that fewer individuals are starting their own businesses now than was the case eight or nine years ago, while at the same time more are going out of business.

However, German economists are not arguing that Marx was right. The vast majority feel his theory has been disproved.

Today, the small- and medium-sized businesses — as the economists define them — constitute 95 percent of the firms by number. These firms employ 62 percent of all salaried employees, produce 50 percent of the GNP, have 50 percent of the nation's total turnover, and account for 41 percent of annual business investment.

But the big firms — only 5 percent by number — still produce half of the GNP and employ 40 percent of the work force. And the number

of small- and medium-sized firms continues to shrink.

Yet for the sake of a healthy economy, small businesses and firms are needed. They often innovate and make changes that lead to general improvements in business life.

Today, every market economy in the world with any degree of "freedom" has laws that restrict monopolistic tendencies.

West Germany, often held a model for market economies (and social responsibility), has such laws and revised these laws at the beginning of the decade and then again in 1975.

Despite these safeguards, there are clearly identifiable forces at work against the interests of the small entrepreneur.

The first, experts say, is the ever-increasing amount of capital necessary to start a business. Over the last 10 years the ante has gone up 10 times. If it cost \$10,000 to start a certain business in West Germany 10 years ago, for instance, it would cost \$100,000 today.

There are many reasons for this — machines are much more expensive, technical change and progress is faster, and labor costs are higher.

Another problem for the entrepreneur is that he must be better educated to compete in business. The tax laws, the complexities of trade and export, and the competition are all very demanding and beyond the ken of someone who is just an ambitious generalist.

The market always looks larger and larger



West German candy factory: small firms feel market pinch

for a would-be independent businessman. The development of the European Community, growth in world trade, better transportation and communications, ever improving credit sources, almost unlimited advertising possibilities, and technical progress all make for a larger and more competitive market.

Another problem in Germany is taxes. Research has shown 38 percent of the larger firms in Germany can use write-off possi-

bilities to reduce their profits to a de facto zero and save on certain taxes.

However, small businesses can do this only 4 percent of the cases. Many consider this unjust to small firms.

Research here has shown small firms do to a surprisingly large degree the most advanced technology and do a large volume of exporting.

## Carter faces a world in economic trouble

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

World economic problems are pressing at the door of the incoming Carter administration, some demanding action before the new team has a chance to settle down in Washington.

The pound-sterling crisis, over and above the pending International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan to London, requires close cooperation among the major industrial powers to help Britain prevent economic collapse.

Next month the 13-nation Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) meets at Qatar with the announced intention of raising world oil prices again.

World economic recovery, which started out briskly this year, has turned sluggish — not only in the United States, but in Japan and a number of European countries.

By next spring Western powers are supposed to have an agreed blueprint on "third world" demands on stabilization of commodity-export prices and management of the poorest nations' overwhelming debt burdens.

On some of these problems the position of President Ford's administration is well-defined, such as the sterling crisis and an OPEC price hike.

William P. Sullivan, Deputy Prime Minister James Callaghan must take the politically difficult step of slashing public spending to regain world confidence in sterling.

Unless such cuts are made, American officials believe the fight from sterling will continue, facing the British Government to borrow again and again to pay for its expensive social welfare and other programs.

Already, to repay money borrowed from the United States, West Germany, Japan, and other powers, Britain seeks a \$3.9 billion loan from the IMF, which is expected to require British budget cuts as a condition of the loan.

Whether President-Elect Jimmy Carter and his aides will take as tough a line on British spending policy is unknown.

As to OPEC, Mr. Simon and other American officials believe a substantial oil-price hike not only is unwarranted, but would threaten to stall world economic recovery.

OPEC members, rejecting this argument,

say the cost of Western goods they import has gone up so much that petroleum prices, now pegged at \$11.51 a barrel — four times the level of three years ago — must be raised to compensate.

Observers expect a price rise in the range of 10 percent may be decreed at Doha, Qatar. Such an increase, if passed through to consumers, would boost U.S. retail prices for gasoline and heating oil by about a penny a gallon.

The economic impact on Japan and Western Europe, which import almost all their oil, would be more severe than on the United States. Heaviest burden of all would fall on the world's poorest countries, already struggling under a mountainous debt load.

Economic recovery in the industrial world helped developing nations this year, by expanding their export markets for raw materials and light manufactures. Thus the yearly trade deficit of nonoil-producing developing countries, taken as a whole, is estimated at about \$30 billion, down from \$37 billion last year.

Another OPEC price rise would hit poor countries in two ways — adding to their own oil-import bills and possibly reducing their export markets in industrial lands.

By next spring, in any event, rich and poor nations of the world are scheduled to grapple again with problems on which so far they have made little progress: how to stabilize the export earnings of developing lands.

## U.S. press annoys French

By Philip W. Whitcomb  
Special correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

The French reacted quickly and caustically to a recent editorial in the Wall Street Journal congratulating the French Left on its opposition to Premier Raymond Barre's austerity program.

The editorial, entitled "Vive the French Left!" said, "The leftist leaders of the French labor unions had our complete sympathy" when they called a national strike the other day to protest the plan. The Wall Street Journal went on to condemn the plan as likely to increase inflation, weaken the franc, cause black markets and shortages, and increase unemployment.

The immediate reaction of French newspapers and TV, even of many members of the Socialist-Communist Left, was one of either startled resentment or amusement.

Economic experts, financiers, and industrialists were slow to respond, but then suggested that the Journal's editorialist was talking about a France that existed only in his imagination.

Their conclusions may be summed up in three points:

First, significant economic indicators prove that action must be taken immediately.

Second, the immediate application of a more far-reaching program, however perfect it may seem in theory, is impossible in a country like France, made up of hundreds of divergent and often conflicting racial, sociological, economic, and political communities.

Third, the Giscard-Barre five-part plan is nonexperimental, practical, immediately appli-

cable, and sufficiently integrated to produce the results that will restore confidence.

There is evidence supporting these three points. The price of French securities on the Paris stock exchange, the Bourse, has dropped an average of 80 percent (in permanent losses, 40 percent in current francs) since 1961, when the Gaullist government became fully organized.

The foreign trade deficit in September rose to a rate of \$8 billion a year, an amount that must be compensated by borrowing the francs (12.7 billion francs in 1977, of which 7.9 billion was in Eurodollars), by selling French businesses and real estate to foreigners, and to some extent by increasing the French monetary mass faster than the increase in gross national product — during 1977-78, it was 48 percent, compared with the 3 percent increase in GNP.

Just how simple and easily applicable the Giscard-Barre plan is will be tested in the next 10 to 12 months as the details of its five parts are hammered out. Here is their present shape:

• Total monetary mass will not be allowed to increase faster than gross national product. National budget expenditures will be limited to revenue; increase will be limited to the rate of GNP increase.

• All prices will remain at their 1970 level until Dec. 31. During 1977 the limit of price increases will be 6.5 percent and will be strictly applied to all charges under government control (transport, electricity, gas, oil, and communications, for example).

More industrial prices will be decontrolled, but wholesale-retail profit margins, charges for services, and rents will be controlled. The national policy of obligatory "contracts" between employers and employees in each branch of economic activity will be maintained, but the government "recommendations" that increases not exceed cost-of-living increases. Nonsalaried revenues "ought" not to increase more than 6.5 percent.

• Imports of oil in 1977 will be limited to \$5 billion francs (probably about \$11 billion) and the price of gasoline sold to the public will be creased.

• Industrial investment will be facilitated with special fiscal facilities for small and medium businesses. Special measures will encourage and aid exporters.

• To prevent the recurrence of a budget deficit, all nonsalaried revenues will be more strictly ascertained and taxed.

## Detente and historians

By Robert M. Press  
A staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago  
At a well-mocked conference table in one of the nation's most distinguished libraries here, a top historian from the Soviet Union pulled a small blue notebook from the inside pocket of his dark suit and wrote down in Russian details on the next steps of a U.S.-U.S.S.R. "detente" project that

• May lead to Soviet historians rewriting, or at least reinterpreting, part of their country's history with the help of new techniques being used by U.S. scholars.

• Will pry open doors to some Soviet archives to notorious American historians and sociologists.

• Could reveal that cities like Moscow, Leningrad, Chicago, and Pittsburgh have a lot more in common, historically, than now is assumed.

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# from page 1

## \*Would Carter make an Englishman?

I am no good at forecasting the results of British elections, but on foreign elections I am seldom wrong. Who gave you S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike for the Sri Lanka elections in 1958? Who tipped the Justice Party to win the Turkish elections in 1961? And who gave you John F. Kennedy "narrowly" in 1960? Modestly, it was me. And although I completely ignored Mr. Carter in a review of the runners dated October, 1975, I was going nap on him six months later. Too confidently to draw back when the opinion polls began turning against him, and I wished I had had the humility to hedge my bets.

## \*Asia's struggle with democracy

because there was always a politician with an interest in blocking a proposal, said one Thai economist.

But in Thailand one also hears this concern: What is to prevent the new order from giving way to another cycle of deterioration and discontent, either because the government seeks its own narrow interests too repressively or because pickpocketing within the military produces a new leadership crisis?

In normal times Thailand could ride out the cycle of new order, hope, deterioration, and renewal that followed a military coup or student outburst. Continuity was provided by the stabilizing umbrella of loyalties to the King.

But in Thailand today there is concern that because of the communist victory in Vietnam and communist insurgency in the Thai countryside, the whole sequence may be repeating itself on borrowed time.

Asians farther from Vietnam face similar dilemmas.

Once power goes to the strong leader, who is to ensure that the new order will not become as entrenched in its own political and financial interests as the old?

The answer is not so clear in Western nations with long histories of legal and constitutional checks. In Asian countries authoritarian traditions and a tendency toward a lack of discipline without strong leadership often run deep. Moreover, the degree of harshness or flexibility of both communist and noncommunist authoritarian Asian governments and also their record of social and economic achievements vary so widely that heavy emphasis on their non-democratic features can be misleading.

But where a free press and democratic elections are no longer present to act as checks on the Western pattern, other means of renewal can be expected to appear. These may include: more military coups, as in Thailand; purges and shuffling of leaders at the top, as in China; or more violent upheavals such as the 1965 anti-communist killings of hundreds of thousands in Indonesia.

I fancy the Carter presidency is going to be good for the British. I don't mean that I expect Mr. Carter to hand us a blank check for as many billion dollars as we fancy. I mean that he will force us, by his behavior, to come to terms with the fact that Americans are foreigners and not Englishmen who have been away from home too long and developed funny accents.

Lyndon Johnson should have made us realize that when he picked his beagle up by its ears — something no Englishman would do, however long away from home: but then he lulled us back into our special relationship by comparing Harold Wilson to Winston Churchill. The similarities are not obvious, but it was the kind of minor courtesy that showed LBJ's heart was in the right place.

The average Englishman — Scots, Welsh and Irish too, I dare say — is utterly at a loss over Jimmy Carter. There are those giggle-making peanuts, and that curious accent with its unfamiliar inflections. Those of us with American friends wrote asking for help in understanding Mr. Carter; but since all our American friends tend to be in Boston, New York or San Francisco, they wrote back regretting they were as baffled as we.

No wonder Mr. Callaghan, our Prime Minister, hurried off a message telling Mr. Carter he would be "very welcome if you can find an opportunity to visit us at any time." There must be a worried feeling in Whitehall that the new President needs a dose of the Buckingham-Palace-plus-Beefeaters treatment that has softened up so many distinguished Americans in the past.

## \*Wild charges at UN

cific charges took the assault on apartheid a step beyond the bitter rhetoric of previous years.

Perhaps what caused the most concern among some delegates, including a number of other "third worlders" and even a few Africans, was a lengthy proposal that declared, among many other things, that the South African Government "is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of South Africa." It went on to reaffirm the legitimacy of the people to struggle by all means for "the seizure of power."

This was seen by critics, including United States delegate Roy P. Hupp, as an incitement to an internal uprising likely to lead to bloody racial strife. But it passed by 108 votes to 11, with 22 abstentions.

There was some strong criticism, even from among the African bloc, of the anti-Israeli resolution for its selectivity.

Israeli Ambassador Chaim Herzog pointed out at impassioned length the strong economic ties between various Arab states and South Africa. The Malawi delegate accused his fellow Africans of "double-faced hypocrisy" in ignoring the fact that all types of military hardware

So it looks as though Washington and London are going to share the great shakeup and learn some new lessons together. And yet another new American ambassador will be presented for the British to interview. What about a handsome, rich black lady this time? One with a string of race-horses would be a shrewd appointment, bearing in mind our royal family's inclinations; or failing that, one with an eligible sea-loving daughter, fond of corgi dogs.

Looking back over the months of campaigning for the presidency, certain points stand out. The first is the crying need to get away from the deplorable concentration on what are called "the issues" and back to good old ballyhoo with plenty of marching bands and pretty girls. What the issues get you is intolerable TV debates, of which we have all had more than enough by now.

The next point is that a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Presidential Candidates has to be formed urgently. What we have seen for the past ten or eleven months is Messrs. Carter and Ford being gradually hollowed out and stuffed with advisers, until there is hardly any of themselves left except the outer shell. Whether the surviving apparatus is in any fit state to form an administration remains to be seen.

Finally: you can't believe everything you hear on the air. The "fantastic turnout" that was supposed to confound the prophets, didn't. It was less than 55 percent, which compares with the British average for the last ten years at General Elections of 76 percent. But then the British don't have to vote so often. If they did, they might lose interest too.

from East and West as well as from Israel could be found in southern Africa. But the resolution swept through with a vote of 91 to 20, with 28 abstentions.

The third most controversial resolution called on the Security Council to impose an arms embargo on South Africa. It specifically demanded that the United States, Britain, and France not veto such a resolution in the Council as they have done twice in the past two years. This passed by 110 to 8, with 20 abstentions.

Israel did not take part in any of the votes. South Africa, to avoid any possible repeat of its temporary ouster in 1974, has not participated in this session at all.

The remaining resolutions ranged from condemning economic "collaboration" and investment in South Africa to a broadened boycott of sports contacts with South Africa.

The latter, which passed 128 for to none against with 12 abstentions, was reminiscent of the walkout of many African and Arab countries from the Montreal Olympics in protest against New Zealand's rugby football tour of South Africa.

## \*World slump

ment levels, still dangerously high in many countries of the world.

A faster growth rate among the giant argument goes, would open up their markets to more goods from smaller nations, whose economies are struggling.

Meanwhile, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is scrapping earlier growth estimates, listing growth projections downward for its 24 member nations.

The collective growth rate for the U.S., Canada, Japan, and Western Europe for the second half of 1976, says the OECD, may be 3.5 percent, down from last July's estimate of 4.5 percent.

The United States, if it continued at its current annual growth rate of only about 4 percent, could not whittle down its unemployment. Indeed, the U.S. jobless rate climbed from 7.1 percent last May to 7.9 percent in October.

A 3.5 percent growth rate, by extrapolation, is too low to reduce unemployment in most countries. Japan has only a 1.8 percent unemployment rate and Austria is doing better, with 1.2 percent of its labor force out of work.

But most nations of the OECD are as well off. Ireland's jobless rate is more than 10 percent; that of Britain, 6.4 percent; Belgium more than 8 percent; the Netherlands, 5.1 percent; France, nearly 5 percent; and Denmark, 8.4 percent.

Calls for economic stimulus, voiced most recently by leading American, Canadian, Japanese, and European economists meeting at the Brookings Institution, would reverse a "tight growth" policy endorsed by major industrial powers earlier in the year.

As recently as October, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), meeting at Manila, called inflation the "common threat" resulting through national and international economic problems and leading, among other things, to higher unemployment.

"There is," said IMF managing director Johannes Witteveen, "a clear and general view that the path to sustainable economic growth and to the reduction of unemployment lies in the restoration of a reasonable degree of price stability."

This echoed the conclusion of an economic summit meeting of major powers in Puerto Rico last June, which called for a brake on economic growth rates, lest inflation be reignited.

Spurring this cautionary view was the United States, the most influential member of the OECD and IMF. The chief sponsor of U.S. anti-inflationary policy is Treasury Secretary William E. Simon.

Adding to the fears of inflation is the likelihood that next month the 13-nation Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries will decree another rise in the price of oil.

There is still some shooting in Lebanon, yes. But Syria is moving into a negotiating position with Israel. The Israelis are looking to for help. Both Israel and the Arabs are in Washington to be a fair referee in the talks which lie ahead.

The second is southern Africa where a Kissinger initiative has brought whites and blacks from Rhodesia to the conference table in Geneva. There is bickering there, but no more than was to be expected. And Moscow has its seat at that table. Dr. Kissinger has maneuvered them out of the room.

The third is the general north-south relationship where the raw material countries are better terms of trade with the industrial democracies. There will be trouble ahead here, of course, beginning with another round of price rises. But Moscow is absent from the price rises. And Moscow is absent from the price rises. And Moscow is absent from the price rises.

All in all, the allies will be sorry to see Dr. Kissinger leave.

# Walter Mondale: the next Vice-President

By Richard L. Strout

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington — Sen. Walter F. (Fritz) Mondale — America's new Vice-President — started earning money early, raising funds for college by working summers with migrant laborers in fields and canneries in Minnesota, some of whom he tried to organize. His father was a Methodist minister, whose roving pastorate took him all over the state. If you wanted to go to college, you worked. So young "Fritz" took a couple of years at Macalester College (St. Paul), the next year off in Washington helping the young wing of the liberal Americans for Democratic Action, and resumed studies at the University of Minnesota, graduating 1951 — cum laude. He later acquired a law degree.

Last April in a financial statement listing net worth for 1975, Mr. Mondale estimated his estate at \$77,361 — which, compared with the affluence of his colleagues, is about like a purposeful traveling in a school of whales. There are at least 22 self-confessed millionaires listed in the Senate. Fritz Mondale and his wife, Joan (Adams) Mondale, are the children of ministers and have never put emphasis on material goals. He owns no stocks, bonds, or real estate other than his home, according to his financial statement. He earned a Senate salary of \$43,025, made an additional \$15,745 lecturing and writing, and Mrs. Mondale picked up \$2,500 through lectures on art and from working as a guide in Washington with a group of congressional wives.

Following two years as an enlisted man in the Army, and after graduating from the university law school, Mr. Mondale's political career was launched by several instances of extraordinary good fortune. He helped manage Hubert Humphrey's successful Senate campaign for the dominant farmer-labor Democratic Party in his local congressional district. Then there was a vacancy in the state attorney general's job.

The job was worth only \$16,000. But so what? He was with a prestigious law firm. And he was interested in something besides money. Once in the office, a spectacular case opportunistically occurred (involving alleged fraud and malfeasance in the Sister Kenny Foundation). It was the biggest story in the state for six months, and he was in the center of it.

Then, as later, people seemed to trust the slight, blue-eyed, blond-haired young man with the slightly beaked nose, who made speeches in a conversational voice.

"Let's face it, say supporters of Mr. Mondale, he's no Demosthenes, not even a Humphrey. A Democratic friend says: "Senator Mondale's not the stump speaker: his efforts are thoughtful, accurate, informed, and boring." He is quite a different figure as chairman of one of the committees investigating difficulties of the hapless. His words are moving; he becomes a commanding figure. Diffidence falls away.

As state attorney general he showed himself modest and competent, and established a reputation as a consumer advocate. Would the voters confirm the young man's interim selection? They did by 58 percent of the vote — and next time (1962) by 59.6 percent. Somebody to watch, politicians said.

Then came the second big Mondale break. At the Democratic Atlantic City convention, he had gained something of a reputation as chairman of a subcommittee which set an unprecedented requirement that future delegates be selected without regard to race, creed, or color. Now Hubert

Humphrey moved from Senate to vice-president — there was a Senate vacancy. Mr. Mondale got the job, again by appointment. He had moved up the Minnesota political escalator. He was elected in his own right in 1966, and again in 1972.

Quietly, persistently, effectively, Mr. Mondale gained a reputation as spokesman for the underdog in Congress. People liked him. Senate conservatives who disagreed with his views respected him; and they were fond of him.

"I regard him as one of the few senators I get along with best," said James B. Allen (D) of Alabama, who seems to have few ideological similarities. "We joke back and forth quite a lot," he added. "I see him as a friendly opponent on the Senate floor."

Republican conservatives feel that Democratic liberals have an unrealistic philosophy, that their approach is "to find a problem and then throw money at it," that they have inordinate faith in the ability of big government to solve social ills, and that they are willing to risk inflation in the process of unbalancing the budget.

Democratic liberals are just as sincere in the biggest political debate of the century: government, they argue, is an effective engine for social amelioration; it has been so used, generally to advantage, since Franklin Roosevelt; a deficit need not produce inflation if there is a big cushion of idle factories and men; the budget should be used to stimulate or slow down the economy.

Senator Mondale is an effective spokesman for the second view — he assailed President Nixon for what he charged was an assault on "the whole notion of the delivery of services to people who need them." He has voted to override every Ford veto in two years.

His great causes have been migrants, black schoolchildren, chronically unemployed, the ill, the hungry, and the powerless. And in his subdued political style, he has championed the passage of a series of laws.

For example, he was the moving force behind passage of the landmark open-housing legislation in 1968.

His major legislative offering in 1971 was a comprehensive child-care bill that would provide federal money for health care, nutritional aid, education, and social services for the young. It was vetoed by President Nixon.

Senator Mondale tells about it in his book, "The Accountability of Power," published early this year, after he had given up his own drive for the presidency and before he was picked as running mate by Jimmy Carter. It has affected his approach to the presidency.

He had conducted negotiations on the child-care bill with then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Elliot L. Richardson, and agreed on a revised version which Mr. Richardson took to the White House. "He [Mr. Richardson] indicated that he supported the revised bill and would do everything possible to get the President to support it," said Senator Mondale. But a week later, he switched positions.

The subtitle of Mr. Mondale's book is "Toward a Responsible Presidency." And this and similar incidents made Mr. Mondale think the presidency was in danger and should not be run by a close-knit White House staff removed from control of Cabinet, Congress, the media, and the public.

"In one week," he wrote, "anonymous, unaccountable White House aides had reversed the work of Senate and House conferees dealing directly with the Cabinet secretary whose responsibility it was to represent the administration position."

There is hardly a man in Congress who has stronger

# people



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer  
Speaks for the underdog

views about an open presidency than Senator Mondale. What effect will he have on a Carter administration?

In Congress, critics have called him "Mr. Busing." Actually, like President-Elect Carter, who does not like busing for racial balance except as a last-resort tool of the court, he opposes a constitutional amendment to outlaw it.

On other issues, he says that his support of the Vietnam war was "the greatest mistake I ever made."

He endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins bill to guarantee jobs with a goal of 3 percent rate of adult unemployment within four years. Jimmy Carter endorsed a modified version of the program.

He favors mandatory health insurance on a national basis; aid to the cities — a program of federal activism. Jimmy Carter seems to go along, too, although somewhat behind his low-keyed running mate.

Senator Mondale's own presidential bid was not successful but taught him a lot; it cost \$100,000, took two years, separated him brutally from family, carried him into most of the states, and widened his vision of America and its political process. He explains this vision in his book.

He had hoped to be beneficiary of Edward Kennedy's political legacy but found the estate dissipated among rival claimants. A lot of people thought that "Mondale" was a Los Angeles suburb, a manager wryly comments. "We peaked at 4 percent."

Senator Mondale brings modesty and humor to a team that can use them.

## \*Europe likes Kissinger

their ports and air space for the purpose. And during the oil embargo episode which came after, they tended to blame America's partisan

disagreement of the anti-Arab policies coming from Washington at the time. But since the dust settled from that period of sharp disagreement, Dr. Kissinger has enjoyed a sort of belated honeymoon with the old allies. They watched with fascination and approval while he worked out the first interim settlement between Egypt and Israel. And they have of late been his partners in trying to find a peaceful and non-communist transition from white to native rule in southern Africa.

They no longer accuse him of neglecting them and their interests. And he has not. On the contrary, he has become a frequent visitor to their capitals. The British note that he has stopped off in London for a friendly chat 14 times during these last two years. He has become part of their normal lives. The prospect of his early departure from the helm of American foreign policy has come as a shock to them.

It is all the more of a shock because no one

outside the inner Carter circle has any idea who will be the next American secretary of state. Besides, having expected a Ford-Kissinger honeymoon, they know almost nothing about him. What they do know troubles them.

A politician who talks about his religion and openly practices it would have been conspicuous in mid-Victorian times. But it is several generations since anyone in European politics has resembled Mr. Carter. The Europeans have no points of reference in trying to understand him.

Hence, Mr. Carter's choice of a secretary of state is going to be of unusual importance in the eyes of the overseas allies. If it is someone they know and respect, the new Carter ally relationship will be off to a good start. If it is unknown, there will be a further period of uneasiness in the relationship.

What Mr. Carter does about the Soviet Union will also be watched with interest. There has been a feeling among the allies that if Kissinger policy was flawed, it was his emphasis on the Soviet relationship. They have long sus-

pected that he went further than necessary to be friendly with the Muscovites. In this lies Mr. Carter's opportunity.

Will he be more considerate toward old allies, or toward the Kremlin? What will come first on his priority list?

If he opens his foreign policy record with a visit to Western Europe and pays his courtesy calls on his old allies before he does anything else, he will be off to a good start. If he were to go to Moscow first, he would have a lot of suspicion to overcome. Japan, of course, should also come high on his list.

Friendly allied diplomats in Washington find it particularly hard to accept the inevitability of the Kissinger departure because the affairs of the alliance are at the moment in remarkably good condition. There are three critical problems on everyone's agenda. All are being managed as well as any professional diplomat could be expected to manage them. The Soviet factor is negligible in all three.

The first of the three is the Middle East. There, progress toward a next round of crisis reduction seems to be steady and promising



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer  
Advocate for the arts

By Louise Sweeney  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington — Outside, the Secret Service is peering through the ivy, checking the street for any suspicious visitors or cars.

Inside, Joan Mondale, wife of the Vice-President-Elect, is calmly telling a story that hints what she would like to do as veep's wife.

"The story is about a little child who was watching a sculptor making a great, huge sculpture out of doors. And this child would come over every day, and watch him carve. And as he chipped away the marble a lion appeared. And the little child said to the sculptor, 'How did you know that there was a lion inside that block of marble?'"

She leans back, an animated brunette in a lime-green shirt dress, and asks, "Now, how do we know what's inside each human being in this whole country? There's a little creative spark inside all of us. And I would like to do that," she says, "in the area of the arts."

Joan Mondale's talk about being an advocate for the arts is not just idle campaign chatter. She is a potter, the author of a chil-

dren's book, "Politics in Art," has worked for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, giving guided tours and lectures, and a guide at the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

She looks a little like one of Modigliani's elongated, angular paintings, this brown-eyed woman who vibrates enthusiasm like a tuning fork.

Since Walter Mondale has been a strong family advocate as a legislator, we talked about Mrs. Mondale's views on what keeps a family together and happy.

"I read this wonderful little slogan which I think is sweet. It said that marriages are like fires, they go out if they're unattended. That's kind of corny but it's true. And [psychologist] Bruno Bettelheim says it's not a proof of love to spend every moment of every day with another person. And maybe that's the hardest thing for people who are not married to, politicians to understand. Everybody is so worried about absences and does that break up your marriage. No, it doesn't. I can't say our marriage is any better than anyone else's. It's just worked for us. We agree on almost everything."

Part of that agreement springs from similar backgrounds: both children of Min-

nesota ministers, both graduates of Macalester College, both Democrats. They met on a blind date. Their first date was to see the photo exhibit "The Family of Man" at the Minneapolis Museum; 53 days later they were engaged.

The Mondale marriage has produced three highly photogenic children: Eleanor Jane, 16; William Hall, 14; and Theodore, 12.

Their home, an old-fashioned gray stucco house in the Cleveland Park section, is filled with comfortable, contemporary furniture. A half-eaten pan of brownies sits on the stove in the yellow and orange-flowered kitchen. And Mrs. Mondale's art is all around.

She credits the women's movement with making women think hard about their own abilities.

"Women are slowly realizing that, if they live their entire lives through their husbands and children and don't develop themselves as individuals, that when their husband dies or divorces them, when their children grow up and are gone, there's nothing left for themselves. It's not selfish. It's very healthy. Because you don't take away anything from your husband and children. You add to the richness of their lives."



# people

## Before you start walking around the world backwards

Piennie L. Wingo offers some practical advice and warns 'there's no money in it'

By Phil Elderkin

Santa Barbara, California

Piennie L. Wingo is a man who puts his best foot backwards!

He also wears glasses with tiny rear-view mirrors that extend out from the sides, metal horseshoe-shaped taps on the toes of his shoes to cut down wear, and carries a wooden cane that is carved to look like a rattlesnake.

Wingo, at 81 still the world's unchallenged backward-walking champion after a recess of 45 years, is back pounding the pavement with a 400-mile Bicentennial Walk from San Francisco to Santa Monica, California. Those who have stopped to talk with him, and there have been hundreds, say he radiates friendliness like an old-fashioned pot-bellied stove.

Piennie is already in the Guinness Book of Records and his wax figure stands in Ripley's Believe It or Not Museum in San Francisco for a backward walk he started from Santa Monica in 1931. It covered 8,000 miles, not including the trip across the Atlantic on a freighter, and ended 18 months and nine days later in Istanbul, Turkey.

It has been Wingo's original intention to walk completely around the world backwards. That is, until a number of Asia Minor countries simply refused to give him visas.

But let's delay that story while Piennie L. Wingo tells what got him back on the streets after 45 years — still stuck in reverse!

"A few months ago I got a telephone call from the Ripley people in San Francisco," Wingo explained. "They wondered if I had any relatives with the same name capable of making a 400-mile walk backwards from in front of their museum to Santa Monica."

"When I said no but that I could still make that walk myself, there was just no reaction on their part," he continued. "I guess they just didn't think a man my age could do it. So I decided to try it on my own."

"It wasn't until I announced my walk on the Johnny Carson Show in July that the Ripley Museum called again and offered to sponsor me. Part of my deal now, when people stop me, is to talk about the eight Ripley Museums across the country."

Wingo's daily routine starts with a 5 a.m. wakeup call, after which he does about 20 minutes of exercises. Then it's into the street for eight hours of backward walking during which he generally covers between four and 16 miles. It depends on how many people stop to talk and for how long.

Piennie also generates a lot of extra head turning with his Bonnie and Clyde fedora, his twin shoulder patches that advertise Ripley's, and the four oversize metal badges pinned to his coat. One proclaims him as the world's backward walking champion; another that overnight invitations from passersby are accepted. He also sells postcards with pictures of himself on them for \$1.00 apiece.

Wingo travels alone, except on weekends, when his wife drives into town with a fresh change of clothes and sets up headquarters in a nearby motel.

"Since I left San Francisco on August first, I have had to pay to sleep in a motel only twice," Piennie said. "People are wonderful. They offer me rides, meals, conversation, friendship and lodging in their homes. In fact, I usually have a choice of two or three places where I can spend the night."

Wingo's most recent stops were with a minister and his wife, the president of a soup company, and the inside of a hippie's van.

The rear-view mirrors he uses on his glasses now are much better than the original pair that he bought from a mail order house in St. Louis in 1931. They were advertised in a magazine as being especially helpful to bicycle riders.

Piennie wears expensive but off-the-rack shoes and nylon-



With mirrors mounted on his glasses Mr. Wingo is off and running — backwards

ribbed socks because they don't slip. He eats a light breakfast and lunch, but has a big meal at night. His cane is used less as a walking stick than it is to reach back and find curbstones when he goes through cities. His country traveling is all done on the side of the road.

In addition to being stopped by people in automobiles, most of whom already know who he is, the highway patrol frequently drops by to deliver messages from radio and TV stations and newspapers. Most ask him to call them collect from the next roadside phone booth.

When Wingo quits for the day, he usually marks the place where he stopped by taping one of his cards to a road sign or telephone pole. He says his parents would never tell him why they named him Piennie, although he did find out that a very close friend of the family had the initials P. L.

A casual conversation with a high school boy who was attending a party given by his teen-age daughter in 1931 was the thing that triggered Piennie's first try at walking backwards.

"The boy was recalling Lindbergh's flight across the Atlantic, the number of people who were sitting on flagpoles, and the fact that a man had just pushed a peanut up Pike's Peak with his nose," Wingo said. "He was telling everybody in the room that there was just nothing new left to do."

"I only said — well, nobody has ever walked around the world backwards and then found I couldn't think of anything else," he continued. "I just had to try it."

The way Piennie supported himself and kept records of his 8,000 mile trip from Santa Monica to Boston to Turkey was a masterpiece of ingenuity.

He somehow got the Greyhound Bus Co. to carry his luggage without charge. Even then people would invite him into their homes to stay overnight and he paid for most of his meals by carrying advertising sign boards on his shoulders from one city to the next.

"Most of my customers were movie houses and used car dealers and they paid me \$10 a day," Wingo said. "I used to leave the signs at night in the Western Union office of whatever town I was in, where they could be picked up the next day. The Western Union people also agreed to sign my log book as I moved across the country so that my walk could be documented."

When Piennie got to Providence, Rhode Island, he decided

to try to speed things up and he set a record for walking backwards to Boston, a distance of 45 miles, in 12½ hours.

With no money to pay for his passage to Europe, he signed on as a deck hand with a British freighter bound for Hamburg, Germany.

"But I was careful to back onto the ship and come off the same way so as not to break my continuity," he said.

His backward walk across Europe, until he figured out a way to stop it, was punctuated with side trips to the police station and a lot of general harassment.

"Little English was spoken in those countries at that time and the police simply couldn't understand the crowds I was drawing," Wingo said. "They would usually hold me over on the pretext that there was something wrong with my passport."

"Finally I began showing them clippings of some of the articles that German newspapers had written about me and that seemed to satisfy them," he continued. "Later I began to call the police in one area for a letter to law officials in the next big city so that they would know who I was and this worked extremely well."

Piennie wore out 13 pairs of shoes on his way to Turkey. How he got new ones at no cost to himself was rather neat. He would go into a department store, show the manager a clipping of himself, and then arrange to exchange his old shoes for new ones. The department store would then put his old shoes in their window with his picture as an advertisement.

Wingo got back to the United States the same way he got Europe, by taking another job on a freighter, only this time as one of the ship's cooks.

Asked what has changed in 45 years about walking backwards in the United States, Wingo replied:

"Well, back then you could walk anywhere because there just wasn't that much traffic. Today, with all that extra traffic and freeways, you have to pick your routes so you won't get in trouble with the law. The composition of modern roads is so much harder on the feet."

Except for selling postcards and carrying signboards, Piennie has never made any real money from walking backwards. That is, with the exception of the close to \$400 he received for appearing on the Johnny Carson Show.

## America's first lady of needlepoint is actually British

The Christian Science Monitor

Erica Wilson never met a person who wanted to do needlepoint and could not.

"It's not difficult," says the first lady of needlepoint in the U.S. "Anyone who has had a half-hour lesson and wants to do crewel work or embroidery can do it. You can do any design if you love the design."

The bubbly Briton, who came to the U.S. in 1962 to teach crewel classes for six months, stayed on almost 20 years. Her half-hour TV show, "Erica," is beamed to 30 stations across the country; she has written six books about things to make with a needle, and she currently types out two newspaper columns a week.

In her lecture travels around the U.S., Miss Wilson often is asked how newcomers can get started. "I tell them to look through the hundreds of books on the market, to go to visit

shops and stores to see what's happening," she replies. "I think it helps a person to see the tremendous variety of things that can be done."

Store-bought needlepoint kits also can be helpful, Miss Wilson notes. Her first kits were put together to meet the needs of beginning students in her private classes. But she finds today's models are more sophisticated, designed to meet the demands of a wider audience.

"Still, I like to think of kits only as samples," she explains. "I often tell students that things can be done, then they should get on with their own designs."

Or they can use their own choice of colors and stitches to translate a kit into their own design.

Devotees of needlework, as well as confident beginners are taking on bigger and often artistically better projects today. Putting to

gether a large wall hanging, or working through an intricate Oriental design, are two increasingly popular ways of spending relaxing time with a needle, Miss Wilson notes.

Miss Wilson does much of her own designing on route to lectures and sales meetings. "I spend so much time traveling that working on an airplane seems like a perfectly normal thing to do now," she says. "And if the day happens stop and gather 'round a new piece of I'm doing, that's a good sign that it will be of interest to others."

On a recent flight from Britain, Miss Wilson started work on yet another new needlepoint kit. Using very fine cotton with a window frame, she hopes to design a snow scene with deer, rabbits, and owls in the background, white and gray on white transparent organza.

"There are so many thousands of things I want to try," she says of her future work plans, "and I expect to get most of them."



Erica Wilson: one stitch at a time

# education

## A row of hurdles for New Zealand schools

Alastair Carthew

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Wellington, New Zealand

All is not well with education in New Zealand.

The teachers are restless, university students are unhappy, and the government is wielding a financial pruning knife.

Many cynics might say student and teacher protest are nothing new. Both are well known here for their seemingly endless dissatisfaction with their conditions.

But this year the complaints seem more justified. The inevitable catch cry that "the children will ultimately suffer" has a greater ring of truth about it.

The problem stems from the National Party government's determination to bring down a crippling 18 percent inflation rate by slashing government expenditure and holding internal costs. All government departments have taken big cuts in expenditure, not the least being education.

In fact the education vote has increased by \$67 million to \$694 million. This represents a 10.4 increase, which sounds fine except that it nowhere near keeps pace with inflation.

Some of the measures undertaken include (1) cutting of a teacher relief scheme, which meant relief teachers could not be brought in unless a certain number of permanent teachers were absent; (2) abandonment of a free school season ticket system for rail travel; (3)

a reduced capital works program, (4) increased subscriptions for certain school publications; and (5) a reduction in vocational training classes.

The overall aim was to prune \$8 million from the education budget.

Reaction among teachers was swift and quite unexpected in its intensity.

There was the hitherto unheralded sight of middle-aged secondary-school teachers marching noisily on Parliament to seek assurances that the day relief scheme would not remain in force for too long.

Reduction of the scheme has placed an increased burden on teachers. It has resulted in classes not being held because teachers have been unavailable to take them.

The Prime Minister, Robert D. Muldoon, did not enhance the testy relationship between the government and teachers by branding the edu-

cation lobby "shrill, almost hysterical" in its outcry against the cuts. He told the teachers point blank that resorting to direct action was likely to have less effect on the government than more considered, reasoned approaches.

But the teachers appear to be becoming emotionally concerned about the effects the education cuts will have on the children of tomorrow. They see the government's measures as shortsighted.

The university and technical institute students want higher bursaries and scholarships.

They also want the government to reinstate the previously high annual quotas of Malaysian students studying at New Zealand universities. The quotas have been cut both as an economy measure and to give other less developed countries a more equitable share of this country's comprehensive education system.

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# education

## Making room for creativity in a pre-packaged world

By Judith Helmund  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

As the kindergarten bus pulled in I hurried to give out the various paintings, colorings, and clay creations which were the fruits of the children's endeavors. I handed Todd his gloriously colorful easel painting — the result of much concentration and hard work. As I watched, he crumpled it into a tiny ball and, as he went out the door, tossed it in the waste-paper basket.

"But you love that picture!" I exclaimed in horror, "and you worked so hard on it — it was beautiful."

He looked at me and said with typical five-year-old wisdom: "Yeah, you think so. But you know my mother — she only likes the work kind of papers."

This is a scene repeated so often that it has ceased to surprise me, but not to dismay me. Watching the creative process of the young child — and it is the process far more than the product that absorbs the young creator — is a precious experience. Unfortunately it is an experience encountered all too seldom. Emphasis today, even with the youngest children, is almost entirely on the product, not on originality. Frequently, not even excellence in the arts is emphasized, merely producing.

Faced with any unstructured situation, many children today are lost. Whether the lack of structure provides them with a space to move in, a blank piece of paper on which to write or draw as they please, or the freedom to put words together to tell a story of their own choosing, children more and more are asking, "But what's the right way?" To them, and to many parents, an original way of approaching a situation is inconceivable.

In the pre-packaged world of sophisticated toys and games, and incessant TV, the need for a child to think for himself — to react, respond, and change — is apt to be denied. He may thus be deprived of the opportunity to develop that ability which defines creativity: the ability to be originaire.

One of the elements which has contributed to this loss of magic is time. There is such a rush for children to learn, to achieve, that the more time-consuming creative effort on the child's part doesn't satisfy the parents' desire for instant achievement.

Even the toys children play with have a type of imposed order: "action figures" must act like their TV counterparts; dolls must do something — walk, talk, crawl, sleep, eat, grow longer hair. Even in play children may lose the right to effect change, to impose their own order on things — to originate, to create.

In a rapidly changing world, parents will want to ask themselves, "Is it fair to rear children in such a way that they don't know how to change, to adapt, to originate ideas?"

Succeeding columns will discuss ways in which creativity in children can be fostered through art, music and movement, and language.

You can start to help your child have creative experiences by first of all providing basic materials with which he can create and a special place all his own where these supplies can be kept. Here you might keep paper, both colored and plain, crayons, scissors, glue (glue sticks are effective and not too messy), and perhaps some watercolor or tempera paints. Such scrap materials as cloth, wood, wallpaper, yarn, interesting boxes and containers, and egg cartons are also worth stocking. These raw materials are the stuff on which children's imaginations thrive.

One vital thing to remember is that the very young child will first experiment with materials to find out what they will do, how they can work for him. Most young children have no idea what they are making until it's finished. If you should ask what he is making, the child will probably tell you he doesn't know. For children, up to age six, this is the usual approach to art. Again, it is the process, not the product, that counts.

Another stage is that of repetition. The enthusiasm of mothers and teachers often wanes as they view the twentieth little red house with a green roof, flowers in front, and a tree in the yard. This too is a stage that passes as the child gains more confidence in his ability and in his mastery of the tools he is using. Unflagging enthusiasm and constant approval is not a requirement; children need and can understand honest evaluation of their work, once the purely experimental stage is past.

You can let the child know that you enjoy seeing his work, and that you know he had fun doing it without expressing insincere approval. Most of all, it is important to let him enjoy his endeavors, to show him the most efficient and



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

He sure likes it — but will his mother?

effective way to use paste, paint, or whatever, and then let him express his own ideas. The exercise of the purely creative instinct inherent in each of us is just as important to nurture as intellectual ability. Above all, have fun with your children and their art.

Miss Helmund is a master teacher in early childhood education.

## Kirlian photos — an aura of . . . moisture

Kirlian photography has gained considerable notoriety in recent years. This method shows colorful "auras" around people, animals, and plants. Claims have been made that these auras are related to psychic states as well as mental and physical conditions.

But according to a team of scientists from Logical Technical Services Corporation in New York, writing in a recent issue of Science, moisture can explain the form and color of Kirlian photographs of human subjects.

The three scientists photographed human fingers and specially-coated replicas. They found that the replicas had auras similar to the real fingers, but they did not vary. The vari-

ations noted in the auras of the real fingers seemed to be the result of perspiration.

By soaking fingers in water and dehydrating them with alcohol, the scientists found that increased amounts of moisture decreased the aura. Also changes in the aura corresponded to differences in moisture measured on the fingers. An added effect occurs when moisture from the finger gets on the photographic plate.

"Most of the variations in the images of the corona of a living subject . . . can be accounted for by the presence of moisture . . ." is the conclusion of scientists John O. Pehek, Harry J. Kyler, and David L. Faust.

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# science

## Physics: how firm the foundations?

By Robert C. Cowen

Scientists who navigate the often un-  
charted seas of physics take their bear-  
ings from nature's constants. The charge  
on the electron, the force of gravity, and  
other such universal factors, the speed of  
light, underlie all theory and calculation.

No wonder physicists feel uneasy when  
someone they respect suggests such con-  
stants may not be so constant after all.

Physicists can take comfort in recent  
findings that tend to undercut the most  
serious of such challenges. But this has  
not been laid to rest. It was raised four  
decades ago by P. A. M. Dirac, a giant  
among the prewar atomic scientists, who  
has renewed work on his theory over the  
past few years and reawakened its chal-  
lenge.

Dirac is struck by an odd coincidence  
among numbers that fall naturally out of  
present knowledge. Divide the age of the  
universe by the time it takes light to cross  
the diameter of an atom and you get the  
number 10 followed by 38 zeros. Divide the  
electrical force of attraction between an  
electron and a proton by the gravitational  
attraction between them and you get the  
same large number. Square that number,  
and it becomes the number of material  
particles in the known universe.

Expressing such ratios in terms of the  
basic constants, Dirac thinks these con-  
stants seem to be interrelated because the  
ratios boil down to some form of his  
magic number. Since one of the quantities  
in this kinship network is the age of the  
universe, he suggests that at least some of  
the basic constants must change as the  
universe ages. Perhaps the electron's  
charge increases or gravity may weaken.

Stimulated partly by Dirac's renewed  
interest, a number of scientists are look-  
ing into such possibilities, so far with  
largely negative results.

Recently, for example, Arthur Wolfe of  
the University of Pittsburgh and Robert  
Brown and Morton Roberts of the U.S.  
National Radio Astronomy Observatory  
concluded from astronomical data that  
the electron charge has been steady for at  
least a third of the age of the universe.

And while Thomas C. Van Flandern of  
the U.S. Naval Observatory thinks mo-  
tions of the moon suggest gravity is weak-  
ening, J. van Diggelen of the University  
of Utrecht in the Netherlands finds ter-  
restrial data that dispute this. If gravity  
weakens, earth should expand. Van Diggel-  
en's paleontological studies show no sig-  
nificant expansion over the past 500 mil-  
lion years.

While they are intrigued by Dirac's  
large-number theory, few physicists be-  
lieve in it. It seems too bizarre to be true.  
Yet, as British physicist P. C. W. Davies  
has noted, Dirac's ideas  
"are . . . challenging the fundamental  
principles on which modern theories  
of . . . physics have been founded. Coming  
from a physicist of Dirac's stature, that is  
at the very least thought-provoking."

## Explaining away the 'life' on Mars

Climate and chemistry may be  
behind those puzzling movements

By David F. Salisbury  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Unearthly chemistry can explain most of the  
mysterious signals from the life-detection ex-  
periments still bubbling away on Mars.

This is the contention of Massachusetts In-  
stitute of Technology chemist Robert L.  
Huguenin. He maintains that the action of light  
and frost on the rocky Martian surface ex-  
plains away even the responses which Viking  
biologists consider the most suggestive of life.

"I am not saying that there is no life there,"  
Dr. Huguenin remarks. "I'm just saying that  
you can explain what has been seen with . . .  
chemistry."

After the automated arm of the first Viking  
lander dumped soil into the three biology test  
cells in the spacecraft lander, the biologists  
were astonished at the violent reaction that  
took place when it was exposed to liquid water.

Cambridge, Mass.

Water does not exist on Mars in this form, only  
as ice or gas. Oxygen and carbon dioxide were  
furiously produced in the first few days and  
then began to taper off.

Organic compounds?  
In one of the three chambers, no water was  
added. The soil was exposed to slightly radi-  
oactive carbon gases. After incubation in simu-  
lated Martian night, the experiment de-  
tected what appeared to be slight but signif-  
icant amounts of organic compounds in the soil  
— either formed chemically or biologically. But  
an attempt to reproduce this result failed.

With the two "wet" biology experiments, re-  
sults at the second and more northerly landing  
site have proved similar to those at the first lo-  
cation. Viking biologists have repeated all  
three experiments under different conditions in  
an attempt to rule out either chemical or bi-  
ological explanations, says Harold Klein, the  
team leader.

Dr. Huguenin is not a Viking team member.

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## travel

### One-day cruises to the little Greek islands

By Veronica A. Ragatz  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Visiting Greece, but don't have time for a lengthy cruise to the islands? You can still enjoy the magnificence of this country's offshore treasures by taking a one-day sail to nearby Aegina, Poros, and Hydra.

Regular ferry service is provided between the mainland and these islands in the Saronic Gulf (Bay of Athens), or you can take one of the many cruises run daily by travel companies such as Key, Bell, Chat, or G.O. Tours, located here.

The organized tours cost 720 drachmas (about \$20) per person. Ships sail around 8:30 each morning from Piraeus, and return about 7 p.m. Free bus transportation is provided by tour companies to and from most hotels in and around Athens.

Depending on the time of day, one can also reach Piraeus by subway from Omonia Square for less than 10 drachmas, then catch a taxi or walk to the harbor. A taxi from central Athens to the port costs about 70 drachmas (\$2) one way.

I found a recent cruise aboard the Saronic Star (one of several ships that sail daily) most enjoyable. We left shortly after 8:30 a.m. with several hundred passengers on board. The sun was rising through the early morning mist as we moved into the open gulf.

Passengers were welcomed aboard in English, French, German, Italian, and Greek. We



Hydra: complete with artist, windmills, and donkey rides

sat either in lounges fore and aft or outside on various levels of decks. For those who had not eaten breakfast before leaving, snacks and assorted beverages were available.

Our first destination was Aegina, a fertile island with many sandy beaches, located some 80 minutes sailing time from Piraeus. Here passengers were able to disembark on small launches to explore the 85 square km. island or take an optional excursion by bus (80 dr., or about \$1.50) to the Temple of Aphaia, one of the best preserved in Greece.

Those of us who stayed on board were able to get acquainted, swim, sun, sleep, read, or watch the crew fish for octopus. The air was fresh and the sun warm; a welcome change from colder northern climates.

Around 11 a.m. we set sail for Poros, passing through the narrow straits along the Peloponnesian mainland. All around were rocky coastlines of small, almost barren islands jutting out of the sea.

Lunch (included in the price of the trip) was served on trays on deck. We had crackers,

cheese, a roll, salad, stuffed grape leaves, potatoes, green beans, rice, and stewed lamb bits. For dessert there were honey and cinnamon-filled baklava and a large succulent peach.

Our stay at Poros (35 sq. km., pop. 4,000) was about one hour, allowing us an opportunity to purchase postcards and souvenirs or explore the wandering back streets of this active fishing village.

Around 3 p.m., we reached picturesque Hydra, an island of 2,800 people which is frequented by artists and island devotees from around the world. The main town is located in a small cove surrounded by rocky, brush-studded hills. At the entrance to the cove is a small fort with cannon used to defend the island against Turkey during the Greek War for Independence in 1821. On top of the hill is a cylindrical white-washed windmill which stands out strikingly against the bright blue sky.

The town itself is quite colorful. Many of the buildings are white or pastel in color, accented with bright handwoven rugs or painted shutters. The waterfront is lined with souvenir and gift shops selling jewelry, rugs, hand-embroidered blouses, ceramic vases, woolen bags, and metal plaques or wall hangings.

In addition to shopping, visitors to the island can take donkey rides through town, swim, sketch, photograph the scenic harbor, or talk to the lively inhabitants at an outdoor cafe.

For those who wish to stay longer than just a few hours, arrangements can be made in advance to return home in a few days aboard the same or another ship, and accommodations can be rented for reasonable rates upon arrival.

At 4:30 p.m. sharp the Saronic Star left for Piraeus. By this time most passengers were resting in the air-conditioned lounges, silently contemplating the day's events. A stillness set over the group as we watched the sun get lower and lower in the sky. We bundled up in light sweaters or long-sleeved tops and watched the waves flow gently to each side as the prow cut through the water. In all, it had been a relaxing and beautiful day — and a remarkably inexpensive cruise.

## Switzerland's fourth language spoken here

By Peter Tonge  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chur, Switzerland  
If you want to learn more about Romansh, go up the Surselva valley (Bündnerromanisch, the Swiss Germans call it) to Disentis.

My informant, Raoul Sommer, director of tourism for the canton of Grisons here, is himself Romansh. The town of Chur is German, he points out, but the valley is almost totally Romansh.

So next morning, as a strengthening sun brushed a few remaining tentacles of mist from off the mountainside, I caught the early train for Disentis. The ride up the narrow-gauge line takes little more than an hour, rising steadily to where the retreating snows of spring seem only a stone's throw away.

Today the Surselva, and a few other valleys in the dramatically beautiful Grisons, are the last enclaves of a language that once predominated throughout the eastern half of present-day Switzerland. It is the oldest of Switzerland's four national languages — the original Rhaetian language (part Celtic) which

was almost totally supplanted by German in the centuries since the surrounding sea of German language cut off one Roman enclave from another. "We understand each other, but only with a lot of goodwill," one Disentis resident explains.

Still, it is that kind of goodwill and popular sentiment throughout Switzerland which are increasingly supporting a revival of Romansh. The federal government subsidizes the publishing of Romansh literature and school books in all four dialects. A dictionary-encyclopedia dealing with all aspects of the Romansh language and culture also is being compiled. "We are up to letter F," says Dr. Hans Stricker, one of three lexicographers currently involved in the project. Work on the dictionary, which began in 1900, is likely to go on for at least another 35 years.

One word in the dictionary is "alp." That is



Disentis, heartland of Romansh country

By L. Genssler

a Rhaetian word, preceding the Roman influence. It means mountain or a high place where cattle are sent to graze in summer. That, says Dr. Stricker, is one Romansh word.

But the Romansh language is not only a Rhaetian word, it is a living language today. Pa-Romansh, explains why it is important to preserve the language. "The Swiss cultural house is a mountain hut with four windows — German, French, Italian, and Romansh," he says. "Close one window and the hut will be that much darker."

Raoul Sommer is confident that won't happen soon.

Recently tourism also has had a stabilizing effect on Romansh. The increase in summer and winter resorts in the area has provided new job opportunities and stimulated somewhat the flow of young Romansh out of the valley. Dr. Sommer's experience is a case in point. Miss Candinas who runs the Office of Tourism says the town used to be a summer resort with a tourist office that opened for one month only. Then, in 1970, a new cable car brought skiers by the thousand to the area.

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## Chinoiserie — only the Western is authentic

By Marilyn Hoffman  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chinoiserie is a style of hand-painted decoration which reflects Chinese qualities or motifs. Strong current interest in it reflects our revived concern with China and its art. It is also part of a wider appreciation of the Orient and of all that it has contributed to interior decoration.

From 1660 to 1770 the chinoiserie vogue was widespread throughout Europe. This form of decoration was found on some of the finest furniture of that time. "The Dictionary of Antiques" says chinoiserie "can only properly be used to mean European decoration done in the Chinese manner with a certain fantasy element. It cannot be applied to oriental work or

to strict copies of it." In the 17th century, craftsmen took their inspiration from illustrated travel books about the Far East.

At the Baker Furniture Company, a corps of artists has been faithfully reproducing these 17th-century designs since 1932. About 18 expert artists are employed in the decorative painting department of the Grand Rapids, Michigan, factory. Arola Comstock, in charge of the department, was trained by her father, a master decorative painter.

All the painters go through a rigorous training period at Baker before they are qualified to apply by hand delicate chinoiserie motifs on a Baker piece. Patience and natural aptitude are necessary in this painstaking work, since it can require 140 hours to hand paint a breakfast or a secretary. Since there are fine variations in

each artist's interpretation of the chinoiserie designs, each piece emerges as an individual work of art.

At the Kindel Furniture Company, also in Grand Rapids, the chinoiserie pieces are actually signed by the artists who paint them. A decorated Kindel breakfast, with its subtle rich red-brown background, retelling for around \$3,500, is a work of art to be treasured for generations.

At the Drexel Heritage factories in North Carolina, creative artists hand paint designs that are carefully researched in museums, palaces, and villas. They apply composition gold leaf using age-old hand techniques of varnishing, sizing, and burnishing.

Darrell Ferguson, designer for Drexel Heritage, says, "Although people love the practicality and flexibility of contemporary furniture design, they are also looking for ways to embellish simply with richer expressions of historical or ethnic interest. Also, chinoiserie, in an age of mass production, signifies authentic craftsmanship and hand work."

The delicacy and subtlety of chinoiserie requires a certain connoisseurship for true appreciation. It is not for every person, nor for every home. According to New York interior designer, Everett Brown, A.S.I.D., chinoiserie is for "people who know" — it must relate to a knowledge of style and a sense of quality. "Chinoiserie-decorated furniture is probably the most difficult to sell to the average person," says Mr. Brown, "because he fails to understand its charm and its place."

A chinoiserie-decorated piece — a breakfast, secretary, desk, or folding screen — is usually chosen simply as a glorious accent to complement a room. Such a piece blends well with many other decorative elements, or periods, of like quality. As Mr. Brown points out, "Such a decorative piece can be used effectively in a modern room where there is absolutely no tradition, or in one that is extremely elegant, formal, and traditional. When wisely selected and placed in a room, such a piece always enhances; it never detracts."

He describes a pure white dining room, with mirror-top dining table and chairs upholstered

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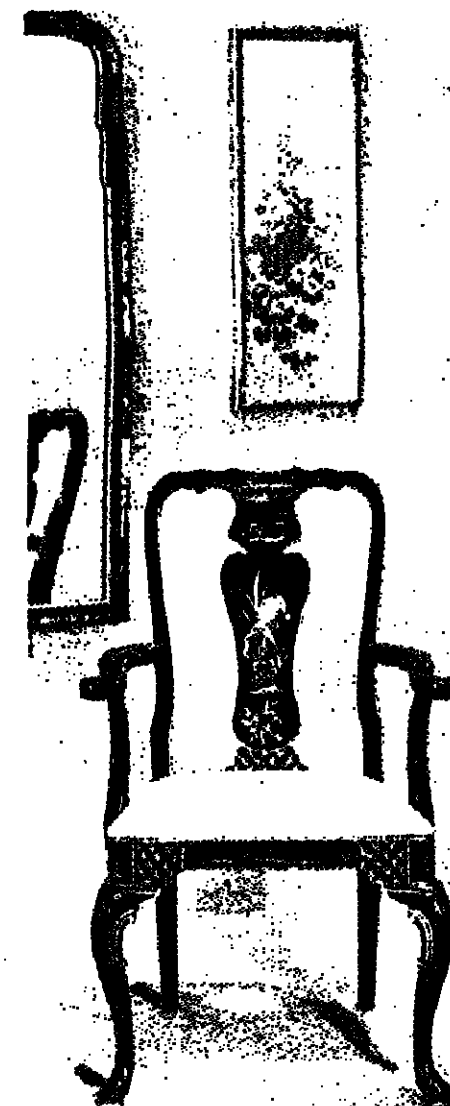
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Folding screen with hand-painted chinoiserie design



## arts/books

## England gets first look at American Indian art

By Barbaranel Hymes  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

In beauty (trappily) I walk  
With beauty before me I walk  
With beauty behind me I walk  
With beauty below me I walk  
With beauty above me I walk  
It is finished (again) in beauty  
It is finished in beauty

A Nacajo Night Chant

The culture of the North American Indian has achieved international recognition at last. It may be a bit late (considering that their culture has been in existence since 1500 B.C.) and it might be a slightly romantic presentation, but it has, nonetheless, come into its own as art rather than as anthropology. "The Sacred Circles" or 2,000 years of North American Indian Art has recently opened at London Hayward Gallery (continuing through January 17). Of all the Bicentennial exhibitions in Britain, this is certainly the most original, if not, ironically enough, the most sympathetic.

There has never been a more important, comprehensive exhibition of this kind anywhere, not even in the U.S. One cause for such neglect in the past has to do with the fear of offending Native Americans by displaying their artifacts in an "ethnic" museum.

Critics too could claim that the objects on display are purely functional and never considered as art by the Indians themselves. For the very concept of art is an alien one to them; the boundaries between weaving and designing a basket, and gathering the berries to fill that basket simply do not exist.

Walking around this enormous exhibition slowly (850 objects lent from all over the world) is essential. And to study the catalog



From the Robinson Museum, South Dakota

## Horse effigy, Sioux, 19th century

(priced at £250 or rented for 10 p.) makes the whole experience more significant.

The exhibition's title, like several objects on display, needs to be explained. "Sacred Circles," a term which pertains to all Indians, is the "spiritual presence" symbolized in the Medicine Wheel, the sun and the stars. It represents both tribal unity and the greater link with the universe. And it is this union with the universe and every element within it which forms the focal point for all Indian belief.

The psychic Medicine Wheel, a term often heard but rarely understood, reflects everything that exists as though it were a great, omnipresent mirror; yet every person, ideal or object can personify this Medicine Wheel, thus creating a world in which each person, flower or bird is a



From the University Museum, Philadelphia  
Deer mask, painted wood

of the paradoxes of true art, he manages to construct a life-enhancing book.

If I say that the problems and passions of young John Marsh can be placed - albeit on a minor scale - in comparison with those experienced by the tragicomic genius of McMurphy in Ken Kesey's superb novel "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest," then you will have a notion of the book's seriousness and its value. Incidentally, I should say that, like Kesey's book, it could be made into an excellent motion picture.

Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland. His work is published on both sides of the Atlantic.

## 'Glass Zoo': a why-did-he-do-it

The Glass Zoo, by James McNeish. New York: St. Martin's Press, \$10.95. London: Hodder & Stoughton, £3.75.

By Robert Nye

"The Glass Zoo" begins as a sort of quiet whodunit, and ends as a reverberating why-did-he-do-it. That, in brief compass, is the only way I can suggest some of the initial qualities of this quite remarkable novel. It is about a delinquent boy, John Marsh, who comes from the slums of South London. John is a "case." He steals and he lies and he picks locks, and he attacks his teachers, and then the probation officers. He also has certain obsessions. He builds telescopes in a caretaker's shed. And he keeps returning to the subject of a photograph - a photograph which is the key to his

tems of education which seek to reduce all children to one level of mediocrity and conformity. On another, it is without doubt a very chilling and successful psychological thriller.

Without divulging the secrets of the plot, then, I can freely praise and seek to define the book's astonishing texture. Mr. McNeish makes you smell the smells of a London comprehensive school, and feel just what it is like to be up against a system which tries to reduce you to what has been prescribed for you as "normality." In so doing, by exploring the reductive sterility of such a negative approach to the "drawing out" which should be education (the Latin root of that very word; educare, means to draw out, not to suppress or force into some pre-ordained mold), in this process, by one

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## books

## How John Galsworthy became Soames Forsythe

John Galsworthy: A Biography, by Catherine Dupré. New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, \$12.50. London: Collins, £5.95.

By Robert Nye

The oil painting on the front cover shows the Galsworthy most of us expect to see. It is the portrait of a Nobel Prize winner, of a companion of the Order of Merit, of a man of property. There is Galsworthy - author of that queer bit of socio-literary fossilization, "The Forsyte Saga" - fossilized himself, with a high white collar and razor-thin mouth.

You could almost believe it was a portrait of Soames Forsythe.

Catherine Dupré is an intelligent biographer. She is well aware, for instance, of the dangers of eulogy - and, in any case, eulogy set in early with this writer, and no one wants to repeat the excesses perpetrated by H. V. Morrell in "The Life and Letters of John Galsworthy" (1935). She is also aware that the popular image of her subject is one of daunting respectability, but she makes it her mission to tell the truth, and to reveal more of the complexity of the essential John Galsworthy than fits the conventional reading. The result is an engrossing book about a less than engrossing man.

I admit that I cannot rate Galsworthy's writing as highly as Mrs. Dupré would have us rate it. Her thesis that Galsworthy's wife was to blame for many of his literary defects seems to me a bit of a catch-all or a convenient get-out. Ada Nemesis, as she was rather aptly christened, was a remarkably single-minded and strong-minded and darkly simple-minded woman. She had a habit of getting what she wanted.

## Status symbols valued

She was illegitimate - a fact which weighed heavily upon her, and soured her conscience, and led her to cling to all the symbols of social status. When Galsworthy first met her she was miserably married to his own cousin. Her affair with the novelist, and their subsequent

marriage, did not bring her happiness. Then, when he was 44, Galsworthy fell in love with the 19-year-old Margaret Morris. Ada never really forgave him.

Mrs. Dupré suggests that Ada's revenge was unconscious. Galsworthy was dominated by Ada's needs and demands, and her standards became his standards. Mrs. Dupré puts it this way: "That he would never have written without her is a highly hypothetical proposition; that he would have written differently is certain." Her suggestion is really that he would have written better.

But would he? I wonder. Galsworthy set out in "The Forsyte Saga" at least partially to satirize the English upper-middle classes. His attempt to do so was vitiated by his own fascination with the bourgeoisie. He ended up idealizing the moneyed life, celebrating the acquisitive instinct, luxuriating in the world of possession and power.

This would be merely distasteful if he had

enjoyed literary gifts to match his subject. But the actual writing is awkward and monotonous, choked with purple passages, unable to express feeling with either force or delicacy, and thus tumbling over into sentimentality when it tries to. His characters - even Soames and Irene - are straight out of the nearest waxworks. Their characteristics are just a mass of material details.

## Melodrama of manners

The same is true of Galsworthy's social scene. If his version of events has an admirable wholeness, a level and cumulative realism, it is also not without certain grave faults. Swinburn, and the Auntie Euphemia and Hester, are crude caricatures, quite unmistakably out of key with the rest of the persons in the saga. More significantly, while adept in the patient accumulation of little scenes, patchwork bits and pieces, scrap of action and conversation, Galsworthy falls down completely in the more difficult department of psychological dy-

namics. The result is a melodrama of manners, rather than decent fiction.

And that is why it all made excellent television, I suspect. Galsworthy's failure to inhabit his characters - his tendency to solve their lives for them intellectually, rather than to follow the process of them feeling their way through the rather stagily arranged series of crises which constitutes his plot - this defect becomes a virtue on TV. Good actors and actresses, and a wonderful degree of attention to period detail and costume, make "The Forsyte Saga" work in television terms, where it scarcely works at all as a trilogy of novels.

But to attribute Galsworthy's literary shortcomings to the inhibiting and conventionalizing influence of his wife strikes me as pretty disingenuous.

Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland. His work is published on both sides of the Atlantic.

## Jan Morris travels with wit and detachment

Travels, by Jan Morris. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 155 pp., \$7.95.

By Margo Hammond

A former wandering correspondent for the Times of London and the Manchester Guardian, Jan Morris has spent over 20 years making "a happy living out of traveling - traveling in fact, traveling in fantasy, in present as in past." Her book is a collection of eleven essays. Four were previously published in American magazines.

The collection begins, appropriately enough, with a description of another professional traveler - Ibn Batuta. "He was the traveler par excellence," Morris writes of the 14th-century Arab scholar, "the born wanderer to whom new scenes, new faces, new experiences were the breath of life." According to Morris, Ibn

Batuta possessed all the attributes of the good traveler:

He was endlessly curious. He was not easily offended. He never pretended to be anything but what he was, a gentleman and scholar of the Maghreb. He relished the pleasures of travel, and forgot the miseries unless they were interesting. He was adept at generalization, an essential aspect of the traveling art. . . . He was generous. He was tough. Above all he possessed the gift of serenity, and stumbled through life from one astonishment to another. . . .

It is not difficult to imagine that Morris sees herself as a modern-day Ibn Batuta crisscrossing the globe by jet plane rather than on foot. Ibn Batuta traveled with the cultural protection of the Islamic heritage, moving "along familiar paths, insulated by manners of thought and conviction against the political convulsions occurring all around." Morris is insulated by another cultural heritage. Like the declining Islamic civilization of the 14th century which nurtured the travels of Ibn Batuta, she sees herself journeying in a world "where political certainties are shakier than they were" and "where infidels of every category are succeeding to power." To escape this chaos, she seeks refuge in cultural detachment.

"The good traveller, even now," Morris assures us, "can discover, as Ibn Batuta did, oases or enclaves of his own culture, still surviving the fall of dynasties or the eclipse of ideologies, still ready to welcome him and give him, if not an elephant or a pomegranate in a

golden bowl, at least a novel to read or an invitation to share the Thanksgiving dinner."

This search for cultural insulation - if not isolation - permeates the collection. In an essay on 19th-century guidebooks, Morris applauds "our British forebears, secure in the extraordinary good fortune of their nationality and the inestimable advantage of a classical education" as sterling examples of this travel philosophy. "For it is true, I fear," she writes, "that the best guide-books, like the best travel books, are generally written by resolute outsiders - observers who preserve the integrity of detachment, and write first of all to their own satisfaction."

The portraits included in this collection - descriptions of Singapore, Dublin, Edinburgh, Washington, and even Bath, where Morris resides - are written with the cold detachment of a resolute outsider.

The results are witty, often penetrating, analyses that tell the reader perhaps more about the author than about those very complex realities. Filled with a nostalgia for a lost golden age when travel was restricted to the educated few, these essays make for truly delightful reading. It is as Morris herself has written describing guidebooks of Russia and America at the turn of the century inflated with ideas of Manifest Destiny:

The aftertaste of such old convictions, so urgent or majestic in their time, now harmless or discredited, is for the real aficionado a peculiar delicacy of old guidebooks.

Margo Hammond is a free-lance reviewer presently based in Rome.

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(NNT): Cephas, or as the Greek gives, Peter!

(JMT): And Peter answering him said, Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water.

(WNT): Peter answered him, "Lord, if it is really you, order me to come to you on the water."

(Comp): Again we quote from Bruce: "Peter represented faith, or that reception of the truth which makes the Lord the object of faith. When that disciple said, 'If it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water,' he was saying, 'naturally what we, the apostles, do.'"

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# French/German

## La Rhodésie : la réalité au sujet de l'unité des noirs

(Cet article paraît en anglais à la page 46)

par Elaine Windrich

Quand un journaliste britannique demanda récemment au vieux chef nationaliste rhodésien, Joshua Nkomo, si pour arriver à un règlement du conflit rhodésien il était nécessaire que les rhodésiens noirs soient réunis en un front commun, il répondit : « Quand James Callaghan et Margaret Thatcher formeront-ils un front unique ? »

Alors que la plupart des pays africains ayant eu récemment accès à l'indépendance ont été critiqués à cause de leurs gouvernements à parti unique, les Africains noirs de Rhodésie ont été également condamnés pour avoir institué deux (ou plusieurs) partis concurrents. Même lorsqu'il a été admis qu'en politique il y a un général plus d'une seule réponse à une question, l'opinion que les nationalistes rhodésiens ne peuvent se payer le luxe de pouvoir exprimer leurs divergences a fait modifier cet avis. Leur besoin primordial a été de présenter un front uni face à une minorité blanche qui a utilisé leur désunion pour conserver son monopole de puissance et de privilèges.

Il est indéniable que les Africains noirs sont, et ont été, cruellement divisés. C'est l'un des faits les plus tragiques, qui tourmentent le conflit rhodésien. Jusqu'à quel point cette division est-elle le résultat d'une politique délibérée de diviser pour régner, c'est, toutefois, moins certain. Mais les raisons offertes par la communauté blanche pour expliquer la désunion africaine ont peu de rapport avec les faits réels.

Le régime de Ian Smith, qui a entre-tenu la crainte d'une guerre civile de type congolais entre les noirs dans le cas d'une prise de pouvoir par la majorité, a fait de son mieux pour encourager la rivalité tribale des Afri-

cains. Mais la Rhodésie (ou Zimbabwe, comme les noirs l'appellent) est l'un des pays d'Afrique qui souffre le moins du complexe de la tribu. La plus grande partie de la population, environ 75%, parle le Shona, tandis que la minorité, les Ndebelé, a de profondes attaches avec les Shona grâce à des mariages intertribaux.

Les nationalistes africains nient vigoureusement toute division tribale dans leur sein, indiquant que parmi leurs chefs on trouve des personnes d'origine Shona aussi bien que des Ndebelé. Dans les cas isolés de rivalités tribales qui se sont produits, telles que celles qui ont éclaté entre les exilés ou les guerilleros campés dans les pays voisins, elles avaient plutôt trait à la question de loyalisme envers un chef politique en particulier.

La description donnée par le régime Smith d'une profonde division idéologique entre les nationalistes africains n'est pas valable non plus. Tous les groupes nationalistes ont été en général d'accord sur leurs buts fondamentaux : le gouvernement de la majorité noire, le socialisme africain, et l'unité pan-africaine. Et tous ont reçu un soutien rhodésien, comprenant des armes et de l'entraînement, qui leur a été refusé par l'Occident, de la part de l'Union soviétique, de l'Europe de l'Est, de Cuba ou de la Chine.

Ces facteurs communs ont été confondus par la tendance d'étiqueter les chefs africains soit comme des « modérés » ou comme des « extrémistes ». Mais si Joshua Nkomo, par exemple, a été considéré comme un « modéré », ce qui est un moyen utile pour le discréditer aux yeux de ses soi-disant partisans, c'est ignorer le fait que lui et ses partisans ont reçu

de l'aide de la part du bloc soviétique depuis le début des années 60. Et si le Rév. Ndabaningi Sithole et l'évêque Muzorewa doivent maintenant être considérés comme des « extrémistes », il est bon de se rappeler qu'ils ont tous deux reçu leur formation religieuse dans des institutions américaines, congrégationalistes et méthodistes.

Ce qui divise les nationalistes africains c'est la question du pouvoir et de celui qui doit l'exercer dans un Zimbabwe indépendant. La scission décisive du premier parti nationaliste (en 1963) a été une conséquence d'un conflit de personnalités, exprimé sous forme de mécontentement au sujet du leadership incertain de Joshua Nkomo. Pendant plus de dix ans, les partis issus de cette division — l'Union du peuple africain du Zimbabwe (ZAPU) dirigée par Nkomo et l'Union nationale africaine du Zimbabwe (ZANU) dirigée par Sithole — furent rivaux pour l'obtention du soutien de la majorité africaine. Mais pendant leurs longues périodes de détention ou d'exil, ils n'eurent aucune occasion de résoudre ces dissensions ni aucun moyen légal de faire appel à un mandat populaire pour déterminer la portée de leur soutien respectif.

L'unité qu'ils ont déclarée après leur remise en liberté en 1974 était nécessairement fragile puisqu'ils furent réunis dans le nouveau Conseil national africain (ANC) sous la pression des présidents africains de « première ligne ». Mais cette unité survécut moins d'un an, parce que la rivalité fondamentale entre les factions de Nkomo et de Sithole n'avait été que provisoirement apaisée en conférant le leadership à un candidat de compromis, l'évêque Muzorewa, qui avait fondé l'ANC en 1971 pour faire opposition aux proposi-

tions anglo-rhodésiennes de règlement. Les rivalités personnelles ont été de plus exacerbées par ce qui est devenu un fossé entre générations. Les nationalistes les plus jeunes, ceux qui combattent dans la guérilla, ont perdu patience, ce qui se traduit par la présence des manœuvres pour l'obtention du pouvoir qui absorbent les énergies et les intérêts de la génération la plus âgée. Bien qu'aucun chef rhodésien ne soit issu des guerilleros, certains de leurs effectifs se tournent vers Robert Mugabe du groupe ZANU pour le leadership. Bien qu'il soit aussi de la génération la plus âgée, il n'a pas, par part, comme Sithole, aux longues années de rivalité implacable avec Nkomo. Cela est évident d'après le récent accord qu'il a conclu à l'occasion de la conférence de Genève avec Nkomo, d'unir leurs forces en un « Front unique » contre le régime de Smith. Même si cette alliance temporaire vit, il faut encore compter avec la tension de l'ANC qui est loyale à l'ANC, Muzorewa.

Dans le cas d'un règlement résultant de la conférence de Genève, la lutte pour le pouvoir politique sera tranchée par les urnes électorales. Mais si l'ANC bloque une fois de plus une transition pacifique au gouvernement de la majorité africaine, alors une différenciation de leadership se fera jour par la continuation de la guérilla. Et ce qui cela donnera, personne ne peut le prévoir.

Elaine Windrich, précédemment conseillère pour les affaires africaines auprès du parti travailliste britannique, est l'auteur de « The Rhodesian Problem, 1923-1975 » (Le problème rhodésien, 1923-1975).

## Rhodesien: Tatsachen über die schwarze Einheit

(Dieser Artikel erscheint auf Seite 46 in englischer Sprache.)

Von Elaine Windrich

Als kürzlich der langjährige rhodesische Nationalistenführer Joshua Nkomo von einem britischen Journalisten gefragt wurde, ob eine erfolgreiche Beilegung des rhodesischen Konflikts eine vereinte Front der rhodesischen Schwarzen erfordere, antwortete er: „Wann werden James Callaghan und Margaret Thatcher eine vereinte Front bilden?“

Während die meisten der in letzter Zeit unabhängig gewordenen afrikanischen Länder dafür kritisiert wurden, daß sie nur eine Partei haben, wurden die schwarzen Afrikaner in Rhodesien ebenso verurteilt, weil sie zwei (oder mehr) Oppositionsparteien gegründet haben. Wenn auch zugegeben wird, daß es in der Politik gewöhnlich mehr als eine Antwort auf eine Frage gibt, so wird doch dieses Zugeständnis durch den Hinweis eingeschränkt, daß die rhodesischen Nationalisten sich nicht den Luxus erlauben könnten, ihre Meinungsverschiedenheiten zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Ihr allergrößtes Bedürfnis ist, eine gemeinsame Front zu bilden, die die Unmöglichkeit darstellt, sich ihr Monopol auf Macht und Privilegien zu bewahren.

Tatsache ist, daß zwischen den schwarzen Afrikanern schon von jeher eine bittere Uneinigkeit bestanden hat und noch immer besteht. Es ist eine der tragischsten Entwicklungen in dem rhodesischen Konflikt. Inwieweit diese Uneinigkeit das Ergebnis eines Planes ist, zu teilen und zu beherrschen, ist jedoch nicht so sicher. Aber die von der weißen Bevölkerung angeführten Gründe für die afrikanische Uneinigkeit haben wenig mit den eigentlichen Tatsachen in der Situation zu tun.

Ian Smiths Regierung, die die Befürchtungen genährt hat, daß es ähnlich wie im Kongo zu einem Bürgerkrieg unter den Schwarzen kommen könnte, sollte die Herrschaft der Mehrheit übertragen werden, hat alles getan, um die

afrikanischen Feindseligkeiten zwischen den Stämmen zu schüren. Aber Rhodesien (oder Zimbabwe, wie die Schwarzen es nennen) ist eines der am wenigsten stammesbewußten Länder Afrikas. Der größte Teil der Bevölkerung, etwa 75 Prozent, gehört der Shona-Sprachgemeinschaft an, während sich die Minorität, die Ndebele, durch Einheirat mit dem anderen Stamm stark verbunden fühlt.

Die afrikanischen Nationalisten verneinen nachdrücklich auf Stammeszugehörigkeit beruhende Uneinigkeit in ihrer Mitte, mit dem Hinweis, daß zu ihren Führern Vertreter beider Stämme gehören. Wenn es gelegentlich aufgrund der Stammeszugehörigkeit zu Konflikten kam, wie z.B. unter den Verbannten oder den in Nachbarländern lebenden Guerillakämpfern, ging es dabei bezeichnenderweise eher um die Frage der Loyalität zu einer besonderen politischen Führung.

Auch das Bild, das die Regierungen der weißen Minderheiten in Rhodesien und Südafrika von den afrikanischen Nationalisten zeichnen, entspricht nicht den Tatsachen. Alle nationalistischen Gruppen sind sich im großen und ganzen in ihren grundsätzlichen Zielen einig: eine Regierung des schwarzen Mehrheits, afrikanischer Sozialismus und panafrikanische Einheit. Und alle haben materielle Unterstützung von der Sowjetunion, Ost- und Zentralamerika erhalten, unter anderem die Waffen und die Ausbildung, die ihnen der Westen versagt hatte.

Diese gemeinsamen Faktoren wurden durch die Tendenz verstärkt, afrikanische Führer als „gemäßigt“ oder „extrem“ abzuzeichnen. Wenn aber z.B. Joshua Nkomo als „gemäßigt“ bezeichnet wurde, was dazu beitrug, ihn in den Augen seiner angeblichen Anhänger in Miskredit zu bringen, bedeutet dies, die Tatsache zu übersähen, daß er und seine Nachfolger seit Anfang

1960 von dem sowjetischen Block Unterstützung erhalten. Und wenn nun Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole und Bischof Abel Muzorewa als „Extremisten“ bezeichnet werden, sollte man nicht vergessen, daß beide ihre religiöse Ausbildung in amerikanischen kongregationalistischen und methodistischen Institutionen empfangen haben.

Was die afrikanischen Nationalisten trennt, ist die Macht und die Frage, wer sie in einem unabhängigen Zimbabwe ausüben soll. Die entscheidende Spaltung in der ersten nationalistischen Partei (1963) war das Ergebnis persönlicher Differenzen, die durch Unzufriedenheit mit der unschlüssigen Führungsschaft Joshua Nkomos hervorgerufen wurden. Seit mehr als zehn Jahren suchen die durch die Spaltung entstandenen Parteien — die Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) unter Nkomo und die Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) unter Sithole — die Unterstützung der afrikanischen Guerillakämpfer, die während ihrer langen Gefangenschaft oder ihres langen Exils hatten diese Führer keine Gelegenheit, jene Unterschiede auszubügeln, noch standen ihnen gesetzliche Mittel zur Verfügung, zu einer allgemeinen Wahl aufzutreten, um die Zahl ihrer Anhänger festzustellen.

Die Einheit, die sie nach ihrer Entlassung im Jahre 1974 zur Schau trugen, stand notwendigerweise auf schwachen Füßen, da die Wiedervereinigung auf das Drängen der „prominenten“ afrikanischen Präsidenten in dem neuen Staat kam. Und diese Einheit dauerte Oberfläche, brodelte, da die unter der Führung von Nkomo und Sithole praktisierten nun vorübergehend unterdrückten Kompromisskandidaten, Bischof Muzorewa, überlegen wurde. Der 1971 den ANC gegründete hatte, um den anglo-

rhodesischen Vorschlägen zur Beilegung der Streitigkeiten Widerstand entgegenzusetzen.

Die persönlichen Rivalitäten haben sich noch mehr verschärft durch das, was zu einer Kluft zwischen den Generationen geworden ist. Die jüngeren Nationalisten, hauptsächlich diejenigen, die im Guerillakrieg mitkämpfen, werden der verständlicherweise ungeduldig mit dem Weitrennen um die Macht, das die Energie und das Interesse der älteren Generation ganz und gar in Anspruch nimmt. Wenn auch noch kein anerkannter Führer aus den Reihen der Guerillas hervorgeht, so bilden doch einige von ihnen wegen ihrer Loyalität zu Robert Mugabe aus der ZANU-Gruppe. Er zählt zwar ebenfalls zur älteren Generation, war aber im Gegensatz zu Sithole nicht in die jahrelange bittere Rivalität mit Nkomo verwickelt. Dies ist aus seinem kürzlich getroffenen Übereinkommen mit Nkomo ersichtlich, ihre Kräfte in einer „Front“ gegen die Regierungen zu vereinen. Selbst wenn dieses vorübergehende Bündnis bestehen bleibt, muß man immer noch mit der ANC-Fraktion rechnen, die Bischof Muzorewa weiterhin treu bleibt.

Sollte die Konferenz in Gent zu einer Beilegung der Streitigkeiten führen, wird der Kampf um die politische Macht durch die Wahlurnen entschieden werden. Wenn jedoch die Regierung Smith wieder einmal einen friedlichen Übergang zur Herrschaft der afrikanischen Mehrheit blockiert, wird sich ein neuer Bürgerkrieg entfalten, und wie diese aussieht, kann niemand voraussagen.

Elaine Windrich, ehemalige Beraterin der britischen Labour Party in afrikanischen Angelegenheiten, ist Autorin des Buches „The Rhodesian Problem, 1923-1975“.

# French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article qui paraît en anglais sur la page The Home Forum

## Le droit à la santé

Le droit d'être en bonne santé ne dépend pas des décisions ou des conclusions d'un médecin, ou de la condition de notre corps physique. Si cette déclaration semble complètement contraire à la façon dont les choses paraissent, elle est malgré tout vraie — parce que le droit d'être en bonne santé est divin ; c'est Dieu qui le donne et non le monde. Au sens pratique, cela signifie qu'il y a un recours contre la maladie, quelle qu'en soit la nature.

Christ Jésus guérit les malades. Nul besoin d'accepter cette déclaration aveuglément ou de la rejeter par manque d'évidence croyable ou tangible — parce que le même genre de guérison est disponible aujourd'hui grâce à la Science Chrétienne, qui suit les enseignements de Jésus. Jésus lui-même ne s'attribua aucun monopole de guérison. En fait il dit qu'il manifestait une capacité qui pourrait être exprimée par quiconque suivrait sa façon de vivre. Il ne démontrait pas un pouvoir miraculeux ou surnaturel. Il dit : « Celui qui croit en moi fera aussi les œuvres que je fais. »

Par exemple, d'après la Bible, Jésus guérit un homme dont la main était desséchée. Sur quelle base ? En raison d'une dispensation spéciale venant de Dieu ? Pas d'après ce que Jésus dit lui-même : que nous pouvons faire ce qu'il fit si nous nous servons de sa méthode de guérison. Mary Baker Eddy, qui découvrit et fonda la Science Chrétienne, fut persuadée, dès qu'elle commença ses recherches bibliques, que la méthode de Jésus était susceptible d'être répétée aujourd'hui malgré tout ce qu'un médecin ou le corps peuvent déclarer. Et elle le prouva.

Elle dit : « Jésus nous enseigna à marcher sur les flots de la matière, ou entendement mortel, et non pas dedans ni avec. » Et elle ajoute : « Il exigea un changement de conscience et d'évidence, et l'effectua au moyen des lois plus élevées de Dieu. La main paralysée remua en dépit de la forteresse de la loi et de l'ordre physiques. Jésus ne s'abassa pas au niveau de la conscience humaine, ni de l'évidence des sens. Il ne tint pas compte de la remarque sarcastique : "Cette main paraît réellement desséchée, tant à la vue qu'au toucher," mais il coupa

court à cette vaine prétention, et détruisit l'orgueil humain en supprimant l'évidence matérielle. »

Les écrits de Mrs. Eddy, tout spécialement le livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, *Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures*, donne la base et l'explication complète de ce qui est impliqué ci-dessus. Et cette explication est compréhensible et applicable par quiconque a besoin de guérison physique.

La Science Chrétienne repose fermement sur le fait relaté dans le premier chapitre de la Genèse, à savoir que malgré l'apparence du contraire, l'homme est l'image et la ressemblance de Dieu. Cette image est spirituelle, reflétant son Créateur, l'Esprit divin, ou Dieu.

L'homme n'est jamais déchu de cet état élevé de l'être. Si nous croyons que nous sommes actuellement des mortels malades ou malheureux, tout autre que le reflet parfait de Dieu, alors ce que la Science Chrétienne nous dit, c'est que notre pensée, non notre état physique, doit être corrigée. Nous ne pouvons perdre ce que Dieu nous a donné — la perfection, le bien-être, la domination sur la chair et toute matière. Tout le mal est constitué non d'une substance à laquelle nous devons succomber mais d'une fausse croyance de la pensée que nous pouvons corriger.

La lecture attentive des Évangiles, sans parti pris, et des déclarations et activités de Jésus, peut être convaincante dans ce domaine. Il guérit en dépit des circon-

stances extérieures. Il ne demanda pas la permission de la matière. Il nous a dit, avec une simplicité exquise : « Vous connaîtrez la vérité, et la vérité vous affranchira. »

Pensez-y ! C'est à vous qu'il s'adressait. Vous avez le droit d'être en bonne santé.

Jean 14:12 ; *Unité du Bien*, p. 11 ; Jean 8:32.

\*Christian Science prononce l'anglais "essence". La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, *Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures*, de Mary Baker Eddy, paraît en français en anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erschienenen religiösen Artikels

(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint auch hier)

## Das Recht auf Gesundheit

Das Recht, gesund zu sein, hängt nicht von der Entscheidung oder dem Befund eines Arztes oder dem Zustand des physischen Körpers ab. Diese Erklärung scheint zwar in völligem Gegensatz zu dem äußeren Augenschein zu stehen, aber sie ist dennoch wahr — weil gesund zu sein ein göttliches Recht ist; es ist von Gott, und nicht von der Welt. Praktisch ausgedrückt heißt das, daß es eine Zuflucht vor Krankheit gibt, ganz gleich, welcher Natur sie ist.

Christus Jesus heilte die Kranken. Wir brauchen diese Erklärung nicht aufgrund unseres Glaubens zu akzeptieren oder sie aus Mangel an glaubhaften und handfesten Beweisen abzulehnen, denn dieselbe Art des Heilens ist heute durch die Christliche Wissenschaft möglich, die den Lehren Jesu folgt. Jesus selbst beanspruchte kein Monopol auf die Fähigkeit zu heilen. Er sagte im wesentlichen, daß er eine Fähigkeit veranschaulichte, die jeder, der sich seine Lebenshaltung zu eigen machte, würde ausdrücken können. Er legte keine wunderbaren oder übernatürlichen Kräfte an den Tag. Er sagte:

„Wer an mich glaubt, der wird die Werke auch tun, die ich tue.“

Der Bibel zufolge heilte Jesus z. B. einen Mann, der eine verdorrte Hand hatte. Wie konnte er das tun? Aufgrund einer besonderen Gabe Gottes? Nein, denn wie Jesus selbst sagte, können wir das tun, was er tat, wenn wir uns seiner Heilmethode bedienen. Mary Baker Eddy, die die Christliche Wissenschaft entdeckte und gründete, gelangte bei ihrem Forschen in der Heiligen Schrift bald zu der Überzeugung, daß die Heilmethode Jesu trotz allem, was ein Arzt oder der Körper vorbringen mag, auch heute noch anwendbar ist. Und sie bewies es.

Sie sagt: „Jesus lehrte uns, über die Ströme der Materie oder des sterblichen Gemüts hinwegzuwandeln, nicht zu sie hinauszugehen noch mit ihnen zu treiben.“ Und sie führt fort: „Er forderte eine Umwandlung des Bewußtseins und des Augenscheins, und er bewirkte diese Umwandlung durch die höheren Gesetze Gottes. Die verdorrte Hand wurde wieder beweglich, trotz des überheblichen Sinnes von Gesetz und Ordnung im physischen

Bereich. Jesus haugte sich weder dem menschlichen Bewußtsein noch dem Augenschein der Sinne. Er achtete nicht der Schmähung: „Diese verdorrte Hand steht sehr wirklich da und fühlt sich sehr wirklich an“, sondern er brachte dieses törichte Fahren zum Schweigen und brach den menschlichen Stolz dadurch, daß er den materiellen Augenschein beseitigte.“

Mrs. Eddys Schriften, besonders das Lehrbuch der Christlichen Wissenschaft, *Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift*, enthalten die Grundlage und die volle Erklärung für das, was hier angedeutet ist. Und diese Erklärung ist für jeden, der einer physischen Heilung bedarf, verständlich und anwendbar.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft gründet sich fest auf die im ersten Kapitel des ersten Buches Mose dargelegte Tatsache, daß der Mensch trotz allen gegenwärtigen Anscheins das Bild und Gleichnis Gottes ist. Dieses Bild ist geistig und spiegelt seinen Schöpfer, den göttlichen Geist oder Gott, wider. Der Mensch ist nie von dieser hohen Ebene des Seins herabgesunken. Wenn wir glauben, daß wir im Augenblick krank und unglücklich sterblich seien, etwas ganz anderes als Gottes vollkommene Widerspiegelung, dann sagt uns die Christliche Wissenschaft, daß unser Denken, nicht unser physischer Zustand, berichtigt werden muß. Wir können das, was Gott uns gegeben hat — Vollkommenheit, Gesundheit, Herrschaft über das Fleisch und über alle Materie — nicht verlieren. Die Gesamtheit des Bösen besteht nicht aus einer Substanz, der wir uns unterwerfen müssen, sondern aus einer falschen Annahme, die wir berichtigen können.

Ein sorgfältiges und unvoreingenommenes Lesen der Evangelien und der Worte und Taten Jesu kann uns in dieser Hinsicht überzeugen. Er heilte, ungeachtet der äußeren Umstände. Er bat die Materie nicht um Erlaubnis. Er sagte ganz schlicht zu uns: „[Ihr] werdet die Wahrheit erkennen, und die Wahrheit wird euch frei machen.“

Denken Sie einmal darüber nach! Er meinte Sie. Sie haben das Recht, gesund zu sein.

\*Christian Science spricht kristallines Wasser.

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, *Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift*, von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesammlungen der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Auskunft über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erteilt auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



Young Balmese boy carries his sister under a banana leaf to protect them from the tropical sun

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer



## Murillo's window on the world

He was an artist of the people, an ardent observer of the everyday. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, Spain's great master of naturalism, captured the commonplace — the markets, the streets, and the people within them — as if they were sacred. Indeed for him, they were.

Murillo, figurehead of the so-called Seville School of painting noted for its emphasis on naturalism and unusual use of chiaroscuro, was as loved by the man in the streets for his affectionate genre scenes as he was by the church for his ethereal religious studies. Murillo, who throughout his 65-year career never left his native Seville, was perhaps the keenest interpreter of his city's hybrid Islamic and Christian culture and its effect on its inhabitants.

Of all Murillo's masterpieces his finest deal with the everyday, in particular Seville's swarm of street children whose boisterous banter echoed off the high canyon walls under which Murillo so often ventured. Perhaps his greatest painting is this portrait of a young girl, a Spanish Juliet, who along with her doting duenna has opened the shutters to listen to the very children below whom Murillo was so fond of painting.

"A Girl and Her Duenna" is more than a small masterpiece of genre painting, it is a remarkably subtle study of the interrelation between the physical and psychological space these women inhabit. By telling us so much about the detailed exterior of his subject's world, Murillo, like Vermeer, has offered a great deal of information and insight into their interior world.

This is a scene which Murillo must have witnessed often both in painting and in everyday life. Certainly the world of women waiting at windows is as timeless, as archetypal a theme in painting as the return of the weary warrior (for whom they wait) is in literature. Artists from Vermeer to Edward Hopper have recorded women watching and waiting. Their canvases, windows on windows, render a world poised on the expectation of a moment soon to become a lifetime. Murillo's window scenes capture not only this world of women, but the very culture which engendered it.

Technically as well as emotionally, Murillo has reversed all that we might normally feel about this world. For these women, whose lives are played out in the mind's drawing room, the world was contained inside the house. Although Seville was recaptured from the Moors in 1492, a strong sentiment of isolation still pervaded the city. The "moda," their world opened from within; the plainest of exteriors opened inwardly to reveal lush inner courtyards. These were the courtyards which contained women, as would the Christian drawing rooms later. The heart of the house, Murillo's heart of darkness, was bearable only by benefit of the windows which looked onto life outside.

Windows, then, became in Spanish society what the eye is to the imagination: the portal of perception. Windows served as a thin membrane separating the interior darkness of the drawing room from the bright bustle of



'A Girl and Her Duenna': Oil on canvas by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo

Courtesy of The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

street life outside. They offered women an extended existence, however peripheral, whose mental freedom fascinated generations of Spanish artists and writers.

Murillo, though, as a genuine humanist, refused to accept this interior world as just an escape from the claustrophobia of a small town. He ingeniously created a strong sense of intimacy precisely by opening up the space, by granting space to his subjects. He has given them the intimacy of their freedom, intimacy, he seems to be saying, is possible only when true freedom of space is granted an individual.

As a consummate master of naturalism, Murillo has infused this potentially trite scene with a freshness and vitality unusual in Spanish painting. Most interestingly, though,

this vitality has allowed for an extraordinary range of psychological nuance and drama. Murillo has reversed all customary role-playing by portraying the duenna, custodian of custom, as a coquettish, almost girlish figure. She registers not only our inviting eyes but our own.

Murillo has fused her into the receding chiaroscuro background as dark as her own. The young girl, on whom Murillo has wisely sought to focus his warm, contoured sense of color, bears a candor and straightforward maturity remarkable for her age. (As her duenna has done literally) in the dark beauty of unquestioned tradition. Here is a beauty unprejudiced.

Murillo has successfully avoided all sentimentality by concentrating only on the essential. All that we know about these two women

is told in an economy of detail. In great restraint, Murillo has captured the duenna in two features: the sardonic squint of her eyes and the retrieved promise of her cheekbones. Similarly, it is the girl's alert and expressive eyes which serve as an accurate index to her character.

This is a portrait which does for Spain what Vermeer's sublime domestic scenes did for Holland: they redeem national stereotypes with the universality of the everyday, its ease, its inherent goodness. This is a window scene into our own interior thinking which asks if we are as venturesome as the young girl who has had the good sense to open her vision, literally and figuratively, as wide as the window she so wisely wanted unlatched.

Alexandra Johnson

## London — on foot

I have never really shared Dickens's enthusiasm for exploring London on foot, but have always taken it for granted that a pleasant walk needs to begin where the pavement ends. For the pavement these days, in the more central parts of town anyway, is a path whose navigation demands all one's attention, the road at least has a rule, but on the pavement every man has his own code, and the art of walking it, as Dugberry would have said, "comes by nature." Blake may assure us that great things "are not done by jostling in the street," but that essential thing on the pavement, progress, is scarcely to be achieved without it.

Nevertheless, living in London and being fond of walking, Anthea and I have nothing for it most of the time but to take to the pavement; and I cannot help thinking that some consideration should be given to the requisite technique for this. Long ago John Gay wrote a famous poem called "Trivia; or The Art of Walking the Streets of London," which is a brilliant and amusing dissertation on how to avoid the difficulties and misadventures that could beset the pedestrian in eighteenth century London. Naturally, however, it is now a trifle out of date, and I should like to add a few observations of my own that may remedy this, and provide the modern pedestrian with some aids in his pursuit of this little studied but not unrewarding art. So that he may better know today, in Gay's words:

"How jostling crowds, with prudence to decline,  
When to assert the wall, and when resign."

There is, I fancy, more or less general agreement that the pleasure of walking consists largely in sauntering, while allowing one's glance to rove appreciatively "from earth to heaven." One must, it is held, if one is to get the best out of walking, forget people, and become aware of all those things one normally misses — the rain puddles with their reflections, the clouds, the skyline of the houses. . . . Now this is excellent advice for the country walker, but to concentrate on these things on the pavement, to stand and stare, or to walk it almost like a regular royal queen with a lofty stare and your nose in the air, is inevitably to encounter more than meets the eye. Unless you have the necessary know-how. Much better then if, as Marvell put it to his lady,

"We would sit down, and think which way  
To walk."

My first recommendation for acquiring the art is quite simple. The moment the pavement walker feels the urge to contemplate puddles or clouds, he should join the nearest

bus queue, where, if not "beneath the boughs," he can certainly "stare as long as sheep or cows." It is true that he can hardly saunter at the same time, but he can at least — at intervals — shuffle. Or even progress from one queue to the next, and enjoy his walk in the approved style, if a shade spasmodically.

Another way is to stare in shop windows; for this is a recognized and tolerated occupation on the pavement, and a window-gazer is no more to be jostled than a constable on traffic control. But, alas, unless you have eyes at the back of your head, or have chosen your window with judgment as a good reflector, you must forgo the puddles and the clouds — though, indeed, keeping your eyes firmly on the window beside you, you may saunter without fear of mishap as an itinerant window-gazer.

As for forgetting people, I can only suggest that the best way is perhaps to cultivate a touch of that alchemy to which Lamb referred when he wrote that all London's "streets and pavements are pure gold, I warrant you. At least I know an alchemy that turns her mud into that metal — a mind that loves to be at home in crowds." Otherwise, no doubt, the really serious walker, or stroller, must do as Dickens often did, and take to the pavement in the small hours.

I offer these suggestions with no such ambition as Gay cherished, who confessed

"My youthful bosom burns with thirst of fame,  
From the great theme to build a glorious name"

but I hope that they may do something to help the city walker become, in another than the usual sense, a pavement artist.

"For my part," said Anthea, "I think you have neglected to mention one of the best ways of enjoying a stroll on the pavement."

"Oh?"

"Yes. You see, there is one type of person who is able to saunter along the pavement, and is never known, so far as I am aware, to turn and twist and sidestep to avoid people — who walks the pavement in fact just as that famous character walked along the Bois Boulogne. With an independent air."

"You astonish me! Who is he?"

"A policeman. They're particularly splendid when there are two of them. And I've found that much the best way to saunter carelessly on the pavement is to fall in behind them!"

Eric Forbes-Boyd

## Child away from home

Under the sleep-blurred country stars, indigo night blanketing voices and forms, my childhood was as weightless upon me as it was in the arms of my elders.

A lamp was the moon's faint image, a mystery of moving through unknown rooms, that lingered at last on a black-plumed shadow and left me to slumber in a strange rest.

Only my mother's words, soft-winged into my dreaming, were assurance, were home.

June M. Findley

The Monitor's religious article

## A right to health

The right to be well is not subject to the decisions or findings of a physician, or to the state of one's physical body. If this statement seems utterly contrary to the way things appear, it is nonetheless true — because the right to be well is divine; it is of God and not of the world. In practice this means that there is a recourse from disease, no matter what its nature.

Christ Jesus healed the sick. There is no need to accept this statement on faith, or to reject it for lack of believable and tangible evidence — because the same kind of healing is available today with Christian Science, which follows the teachings of Jesus. Jesus himself claimed no monopoly on the ability to heal. He said, in effect, that he was illustrating an ability that anyone who followed his way of life would be able to express. He was not demonstrating miraculous or supernatural powers. He said, "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also."

For instance, according to the Bible, Jesus healed a man who had a withered hand. On what basis? Because of some special dispensation from God? Not according to Jesus' own words that we can do what he did if we use his method of healing. Mary Baker Eddy, who discovered and founded Christian Science, became convinced early in her search of the Scriptures that Jesus' method was repeatable today in spite of anything a physician or the body can present. And she proved it.

She says, "Jesus taught us to walk over, not into or with, the currents of matter, or mortal mind." And she goes on to say: "He demanded a change of consciousness and evidence, and effected this change through the higher laws of God. The palsied hand moved, despite the boastful sense of physical law and order. Jesus stooped not to human consciousness, nor to the evidence of the senses. He heeded not the taunt, 'That withered hand looks very real and feels very real,' but he cut off this vain boasting and destroyed human pride by taking away the material evidence."\*

Mrs. Eddy's writings, especially the textbook of Christian Science, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, give the background and full explanation of what is implied here. And this explanation is understandable and applicable by anyone who needs physical healing.

Christian Science rests firmly on the fact given in the first chapter of Genesis, that, in spite of any appearances to the contrary, man is the image and likeness of God. This image is spiritual, reflecting its Maker, divine Spirit, or God. Man has never fallen from this high order of being. If we believe that we are now sick and unhappy mortals, something quite other than God's perfect reflection, then what Christian Science is telling us is that it is our thought, not our physical condition, that needs to be corrected. We cannot lose what God has given us — perfection, well-being, dominion over the flesh and over all matter. The whole of evil is con-

stituted not of a substance to which we must succumb but of a false belief in thought that we can correct.

A close and unbiased reading of the Gospels and of Jesus' statements and activities, can be convincing in this area. He healed regardless of the outward circumstances. He did not ask permission of matter. He said to us, in the most exquisite simplicity, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."†

Think about it! He meant you. You have a right to be well.

\*John 14:12; \*\*Unity of Good, p. 11; †John 8:32.

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## BIBLE VERSE

Let all those that seek thee rejoice and be glad in thee: let such as love thy salvation say continually, The Lord be magnified.  
Psalms 40:16



# OPINION AND...

## Rhodesia: facts on black unity

By Elaine Windrich

When Joshua Nkomo, the veteran Rhodesian nationalist leader, was recently asked by a British journalist if a successful settlement of the Rhodesian conflict demanded a united front among Rhodesian blacks, his reply was: "When will James Callaghan and Margaret Thatcher form a united front?"

While most of the newly independent African countries have been criticized for their one-party states, the black Africans in Rhodesia have been equally condemned for having established two (or more) competing parties. Even when it has been conceded that, in politics, there is usually more than one answer to a question, that concession has been qualified by the advice that the Rhodesian nationalists cannot afford the luxury of being able to express their differences. Their overriding need has been to present a united front against a white minority which has made use of their disunity to retain its monopoly of power and privilege.

That the black Africans are, and have been, bitterly divided is unquestionable. It is one of the most tragic developments bedeviling the Rhodesian conflict. How much that division is the result of a deliberate policy of divide and rule is, however, less certain. But the reasons advanced by the white community to explain African disunity bear little relation to the facts of the situation.

Ian Smith's régime, which has fostered fears of a Congolese type of civil war between blacks in the event of a handover to majority rule, has done its utmost to encourage African

rivalry along tribal lines. But Rhodesia (or Zimbabwe, as the blacks call it) is one of the least tribally conscious countries in Africa. Most of the population, some 75 percent, are of the Shona language group, while the minority, the Ndebele, has strong links with the Shona through intertribal marriage.

The African nationalists vigorously deny any tribal divisions within their ranks, pointing out that their leadership includes persons of both Shona and Ndebele origin. When isolated instances of tribal conflict have occurred, such as those among the exiles or guerrillas based in neighboring countries, they have more significantly involved the issue of loyalty to a particular political leadership.

Nor is the Smith regime's portrayal of the African nationalists as deeply divided ideologically a valid one. All nationalist groups have been generally agreed on their fundamental goals: black majority rule, African socialism, and pan-African unity. And all have received material support, including the arms and training denied them by the West, from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Cuba, or China.

Those common factors have been blurred by the tendency to label African leaders as either "moderates" or "extremists." But if Joshua Nkomo, for example, has been regarded as a "moderate," which is a useful means of discrediting him in the eyes of his would-be supporters, it is to ignore the fact that he and his

followers have been receiving aid from the Soviet bloc since the early 1960s. And if Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Bishop Abel Muzorewa are now to be seen as "extremists," it is well to remember that both received their religious training at American Congregational and Methodist institutions.

What divides the African nationalists is power, and who is to exercise it in an independent Zimbabwe. The decisive split in the first nationalist party came (in 1963) as a result of personality differences, expressed as dissatisfaction with the indecisive leadership of Joshua Nkomo. For over a decade, the parties resulting from that split — the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) under Nkomo and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) under Sithole — were rivals for the support of the African majority. But during their long term of detention or exile they had no opportunity of working out those differences or any legal means of appealing for a popular mandate to determine their respective support.

The unity which they professed after their release in 1974 was necessarily a fragile one, since they were reunited in the new African National Council (ANC) under pressure from the "frontline" African presidents. But that unity survived for less than a year, because the underlying rivalry between the Nkomo and Sithole factions had been only temporarily submerged by conferring the leadership on a com-

promise candidate, Bishop Muzorewa, who founded the ANC in 1971 to oppose the Rhodesian settlement proposals.

The personal rivalries have been further exacerbated by what has become a general gap. The younger nationalists, especially fighting the guerrilla war, have become understandably impatient with the jockeying power which absorbs the energies and interests of the older generation. While no acknowledged leader has emerged from the younger ranks, some of their forces look to Robert Mugabe, the ZANU group for leadership. Although Sithole is, with the long years of bitter war with Nkomo, this is evident from his agreement with Nkomo to unite their forces in a "Patriotic Front" against the Smith régime at the current Geneva Conference. But this temporary alliance survives there is the ANC faction loyal to Bishop Muzorewa.

In the event of a settlement resulting from the Geneva conference, the contest for real power will be decided by the balance of the Smith contingent once again. But peaceful transition to African majority rule then a different sort of leadership will emerge from a continuation of the guerrilla war, what that will be like no one can foresee.

Elaine Windrich, formerly an adviser on African affairs to the British Labor Party, is author of "The Rhodesian Problem, 1933-1973."

## Confessions of an ex-waffler

Melvin Maddocks

The following document was found on the floor of a polling booth in a slightly smudged brown envelope marked "Do Not Open Until After the Election." In these days of self-incriminating letters — to say nothing of tapes — the location of the booth and the identity of the floor-sweeper who discovered the envelope (at 2:23 a.m. Wednesday morning) must be concealed.

To Whom It May Concern:

When you read this, whoever you are, you'll know I've done it. I've actually voted — me, the waffler to out-waffle all wafflers.

"My life, as I now perceive it, has led up to this moment, and since I see my experience, in fact, my character, as representative of my generation, I'm taking the liberty of sharing what I've learned. Call it 'Confessions of an ex-waffler.'"

My career in waffling, as with so many of my generation, began in school. When I was in second-grade art class — laugh if you will — I really fell in love with Whistler's Mother. And said so. My teacher didn't laugh. He did something worse. He whispered in my ear: "Beauty is in the eye of the beholder." I stopped admiring I liked Whistler. Or his Mother. Then, of course, I did stop liking them. And when I began to like Van Gogh's Windmill instead, I didn't admit it to anyone, including myself. I became a waffler.

One good waffler leads to another. As a junior an-

thropologist in fifth-grade social studies, I learned that what African tribe A thought was "right," Polynesian tribe B thought was "wrong." Maybe, my teacher suggested, goodness was in the eye of the beholder too. So I became a moral as well as an aesthetic waffler.

By the age of 16, in answer to a question about the causes of the American Revolution, I found myself scribbling: "Who am I to say what I think about anything?" I got an A, with a "Good!" in the margin.

In some confusion I went to the school principal. He told me not to worry. The whole purpose of education, he explained, was to produce an open — i.e., a waffling — mind. Only ignoramus had simple, clear ideas in the dead center of their heads. It was the mark of a civilized man to discriminate between endless shadings of gray — to juggle (practically forever) opposing points of view.

What a relief! For a minute there I'd thought I was just mixed up.

When I got to college, I read a book called "Seven Types of Ambiguity," and that seemed to say it all. The more complex, the more ambivalent — to use a favorite term — life appeared, the more sensitive it proved one to be.

After a sophomore course in psychology, I realized I had no right to be simple and clear even about myself. I too had many sides; most of them self-contradictory. I must do justice to my multiplicity by being as undecided about who I was as about anything else. I too existed only in the eye of the beholder.

Could such an exquisitely poised sensibility — making Hamlet look like a hardhat — do anything so decisively crude as vote? Of course not.

But then I began to look at the world in which I kept myself so fastidiously tolerant, so above and beyond simple choices. I saw the usual savageries of history: war, crime, not to mention poor football. I realized I was a new breed of Candide — a man so sophisticated he was an innocent. Simple, even brutal choices were being made every day, and I in my pride as a waffler was waiving my right to try to influence them.

The power of a single vote is absurd. But maybe that's why I've voted. It's better than snoring impotence. And it's a start. At last I'm admitting that I not only crave to think (and think) but to choose, to commit, to do. Something I knew at the age of two months when I reached, without waffling, for my rattle. Action was a wager then. Now I've made the wager again. It beats betting on the lottery.

Your new fellow muddler,  
The ex-Waffler

## Readers write

## Transkei: pro and con, Animal Welfare Year

The Transkei and other proposed puppet states will have no meaningful economic or political independence. They will be deprived of further access to the wealth of the whole country. It will also deprive hundreds of thousands of urban blacks of their South African citizenship, people who have never seen the Transkei and for whom there would be no work if they did move there.

Transkei independence is the first step in a cynical attempt by Pretoria to solve its racial problems by giving blacks a more 13 percent of the total land area of the Republic in exchange for the confiscation of their South African citizenship. In addition, it will foster tribal divisions, the bane of orderly development throughout Africa.

Rev. John T. Pawlikowski

The Monitor's view undoubtedly leave the informed reader with the impression that the new Republic of Transkei is condemned outright without taking the true facts into account.

What are the facts about the republic-to-be? Transkei is the traditional land of the Xhosa people, a Bantu tribe of southern Africa. It is a fertile, well-watered area, with a long history of settlement. It is a part of the South African Republic, and its people are South African citizens. It is a part of the South African Republic, and its people are South African citizens.

The new republic did not merely "gain its political freedom" on Oct. 26. It will be a sovereign state, independent of South Africa, and its people will be South African citizens. The new state will have its own Parliament, and only legislation adopted by this body will be binding on Transkei.

When the country became independent, its people became Transkeian citizens. Transkeians living and working in the Republic of South Africa will not lose their South African citizenship, because they have never enjoyed South African citizenship. The granting of Transkeian citizenship on the basis of national ties or even of color is not unprecedented; the French community in the Ivory Coast remained French citizens after independence there.

To argue that Transkei's independence will "only emphasize afresh the separation of black and white races" is to ignore the realities of Africa. By granting independence to Transkei, South Africa reaffirms that the true and only lasting boundaries in Africa are ethnic boundaries.

Hugo H. de Villiers  
Information Attaché  
Embassy of South Africa

Animal Welfare Year

I was interested to read the Sept. 27 article, "Anti-vivisection battle shifts to New York museum."

Although it is true that vivisection is covered by an act of Parliament, this act is now a hindrance to the oldest animal legislation remaining in force, which has never been revised or amended in any way.

Animal Welfare Year in Great Britain marks the centenary of this act, but it is also an expression of concern by nearly seventy national and local animal welfare organizations over

the worsening plight of animals in our modern technological society.

Clive Hollands, Chairman  
Animal Welfare Year

Edinburgh

Cheers for Renny

Three rousing cheers to see on your front page the article "Is Britain just a rich country badly managed?" by Francis Renny. In my opinion, there is not another journalist who is his equal. Complex problems are reported with a direct brave focus in language that is simple and lucid and with documentation to support his conclusions.

His small space is just right for a paper which fulfills a newspaper's function — to inform and help its readers.

Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk

Lucy Brightman

We invite readers' letters for this column, of course we cannot answer every one, but they are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome.

# COMMENTARY

## Telling it to England

By T. B. Millar

I don't just mean England, of course. I mean the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, Wales and, for the foreseeable future, Northern Ireland. With apologies to all those Scotsmen etc., that is what a lot of people outside the British Isles mean by "England." As a schoolboy in Australia waiting to join up during World War II, it was all England to me.

These past few months we have been living, once again, in England. Along with millions of others, we have watched the tragic decline in value of the once mighty pound sterling. We have watched the British Government reeling under the shock of its own making, although not entirely so. We have watched chickens coming unerringly, predictably, pathetically home to roost, while a great deal of public breast beating and hand wringing goes on. We have watched the decline of public and private services, and their steady increase in cost.

And we say that, for our money, this is the most highly civilized, and most deeply concerned society in the world.

It's not, obviously, the old England. This is no longer the center of a great empire — that's all finished, near enough, and who would want it otherwise? Britain was pushed or cased out of New Delhi and Nairobi and Lagos by the

idea it had transplanted and nurtured there (and would they had taken better root!). The things Englishmen believed in during the 18th and 19th centuries made the empire possible, and the things they believed in during the 20th century made it impossible. Thank goodness.

So what's left? Certainly not the wealth of the Indies, nor the power or desire to manipulate governments or peoples around the world in the interest of London or Manchester.

What are left, are values. This is a place, a nation, where values matter, where ideas count, and where people care about other people. Look on these things, ye mighty, and despair not.

Many of the difficulties now besetting Britain are due to an excess of democracy, in a sense, a determination by elected governments during this century to give the mass of the people what they need and want, to reorganize society on a more equitable basis. The whole range of social services, including free and universal education, unemployment and sickness benefits, a national health service, stem from these admirable desires. The trouble came when, through the unprecedented losses of capital assets at home and abroad during the two world wars, and the widespread lethargy that followed the six long debilitating years of the

second, surplus of revenue from production was inadequate to meet the costs of the conditions people wanted to enjoy and ideologists or vote-conscious politicians wanted to give them.

And while the motives, the values, for the most part were right, the methods carried uncalculated penalties. "Comprehensive" education available to all has made the worst situation better but it has also made the best less available and more elite than ever, and has lowered overall educational standards. The national health service became a devouring, bureaucratic monster. Unemployment benefits are such that many people see no need to work. Egalitarianism reduced incentives, and unwieldy skills deteriorated or migrated.

So what we are now witnessing is the nation, with an intense population and limited natural resources, being forced, at long last, to come to terms with the necessity to pay its own way, to cut its coat according to its cloth, and to develop the ideas and the leadership that can tailor the process. It is a difficult accommodation, but it is taking place.

And it is taking place — as one among a handful — within a democratic system, by democratic methods. For this is a country where people believe passionately in the free contention of ideas, write to the newspapers, dem-

onstrate in the streets, work for causes — including those causes at the forefront of enlightened concern — demand their rights, stand up and insist on being counted. It is a highly literate and articulate society. Despite their relatively (for the West) low standard of living, they read — and write — enormous quantities of books, periodicals, newspapers. They debate on radio and television. They believe in principles, including integrity in government. They love their country, and their countryside. They have an innate, often subtle, sense of humor. These qualities are indelible.

Here in London, any night of the week, you can take your pick of an incomparable selection of first-class concerts, plays, opera, ballet; and if you queue for your ticket you may well find yourself next to a housewife or a typist or a company director.

This is not a nation living on its past and about to die. The monuments are maintained, but new buildings keep appearing. While life in all its richness, if with fewer of its ostentations, goes on, the people of England, of Britain, are consolidating those values they have held to and developed over the centuries. The world has need of them.

Mr. Millar is an Australian political scientist currently living in London.

## Charles W. Yost

## The real Communist threat in Thailand

Washington

Democracy in third-world countries is a rare and fragile plant. This is not surprising.

The United States, after a mere 200 years, is the oldest democracy in the world. Western European countries evolved into democracies only in the 19th and 20th centuries. Even they suffered many setbacks and interruptions, often lapsed into empires or dictatorships. Yet most of them had experience for several centuries with some sort of representative institutions.

Most of the nations of Asia and Africa have throughout history been either autocracies or colonies. They have had almost no experience with representative institutions of any but the most primitive sort. It is not therefore remarkable that, catapulted within a few decades into national independence and modern technological society, they have not been able to create democracies.

Thailand is a particularly melancholy example because it has had so much going for it. Unlike most states in Asia, it has never been a colony, has always been able to maintain its independence. It is relatively prosperous, with ample food for all and little abject poverty. It has repeatedly attempted democracy, and repeatedly been thwarted by its own military.

The last coup ousting a democratic government occurred only a month ago.

Thailand's absolute monarchy was overthrown in 1932 by a coalition of Western-educated civilians and military officers. Only six years later the military threw out civilian colleagues and set up a dictatorship which took Thailand into World War II on Japan's side. The civilians created an underground which worked with the United States and after V-J day became the government.

When I reopened the legation in Bangkok in 1945 the civilian Prime Minister was Seni Pramoj, who in a remarkable display of political longevity was again Prime Minister of the recently ousted civilian government. Between 1945 and 1967 there were at least four periods of relatively democratic governments, all toppled by the military after a brief tenure.

It must be admitted that democratic governments in Thailand have not been very effective. Whenever political parties were allowed they proliferated like rabbits. No party ever had a parliamentary majority and government was by unstable coalitions. The press was either totally censored or almost totally irresponsible. The students, who have recently played a conspicuous political role, had more enthusiasm than wisdom.

The military excuse for their coups has usually been that they had to take over to save the country from communism. That is nonsense. Insofar as there is a communist threat in Thailand — and there is one — it arises because the military, who have held power for at least four-fifths of the period since World War II, have chosen to line their own pockets rather than to address and resolve the problems confronting the people. One of the military dictators, Marshal Sarit, amassed a fortune of over \$100 million in six years, over which his numerous wives and mistresses quarreled publicly as soon as he died.

Meanwhile, the peasants, who constitute the vast majority of the population, continue to be squeezed dry for the benefit of the elite in Bangkok. The students and others who speak up on behalf of the people are brutalized and suppressed. Several thousand have been arrested since Oct. 6. As a consequence a considerable number, who were trying to make democracy work, have now fled to join the communist guerrillas. These are the sort of stupidly repressive policies which turn moderates into communists, as Czar Nicholas found in Russia, Chiang Kai-shek in China, and Diem in South Vietnam.

Thailand could in the past indulge in these

charades because those communists who had been so seriously to threaten them were far away. Now they are next door. They control Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

This situation poses a critical problem not only for Thailand but for the United States, its friend and protector. Will America react to the danger by pouring in more arms and more money, without effective strings attached, as it did to Chiang and Diem and to the Thai military in the past?

Or will the U.S. have the strength of mind to tell the new Thai dictatorship it will not get one gun or one dollar until it begins to cope seriously with the real threat to communism in Thailand, that is, with the grossly neglected needs and demands of the people?

If the U.S. follows the former policy, which has failed repeatedly elsewhere, Thailand could slip into a state of chronic civil war, of which the outcome might be that another domino would fall. On the other hand, if the Thais with U.S. help seriously confront their real problems, there is no reason under heaven why this disaster need happen.

Thailand can survive without democracy. It cannot survive without honest, effective, and truly patriotic government.

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## The virtues of smallness

By Edwin D. Canham

affairs of government.

Steadily, Marianas people are replacing mainland Americans (expatriates, we are called in the posts of government and other affairs. Next year the first native governor will be elected.

In paying tribute to political talents, I do not seek to mislead. There will be the same problems of corruption and inefficiency and demagoguery (that's manifest in mainland United States and elsewhere in the world. This is no utopia. But there are leaders acutely conscious of the dangers with some sense of what needs to be done to avoid them. How they will succeed remains to be seen.

One big advantage in the Marianas as compared with most other districts in Micronesia is that we do not have an inherited chieftain system. Traditional leaders do not come to office by virtue of birth. In other districts, like Yap particularly, the power of the traditional leaders must run in harness with elected democracy. It is a difficult combination.

Here, everybody knows everybody else, and

most of the Chamorros are related in some way or other. There are four or five big families. Many names are duplicates of Spanish derivation, like Sablan and Camacho and Cabrero and Ada and Villagomez.

This interrelationship makes politics awfully personal. And intimate. It is part of the micro-scale, rather like a New England town meeting. I grew up in such a community, which may be one of the reasons why I find it comfortable here.

Anyway, this part of the American nation knows and relishes the opportunities of self-government. The people and their leaders are proud to be pioneering in nation-building in 1976. There is little false confidence, much awareness of problems and pitfalls. But they are making no small plans. The scope is large, the scale is tiny. The United States deserves to know more about what is happening here under the Stars and Stripes.

Mr. Canham is the Resident Commissioner of the Northern Mariana Islands.